

A CONCISE

# HISTORY OF RELIGION

BY

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Et*

VOL. II,

Containing a History of

JUDAISM AND JEWISH SACRED LITERATURE,

With a Chapter on the Religious Environment of Early Christianity

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## PREFACE

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IT is time for the civilised world either to read the Bible no longer, or to read it in a new spirit. Whatever may be said as to the hold which religion still retains upon the minds of educated people, it is sufficiently clear to the observing eye that religion is now valued more for its supposed aid to ethical endeavour and devout aspiration towards a future existence than for its association with myth and legend. So also is the Bible more prized on account of the moral influence it is believed to exercise than because of its wealth of stories, which astonish rather than edify. Many people who call themselves Christian are ready to admit that the Bible does not accord with their sense of historical truth and does not present the harmony and perfection which they would have expected in a divinely inspired volume. Nevertheless their attitude is still one of hesitation. They turn to us who reject the doctrine of inspiration, and ask us to explain the phenomena of the Bible. If it was not God given how *did* it originate? In the case of such inquirers it is not enough to ridicule the old legends or expose contradictions. Ridicule is legitimate as a weapon against Christians (and they are many) who, in their religious arguments profess belief in the supernatural authorship of the Hebrew and Christian scriptures, but, in the practical conduct of life, act on Agnostic principles. There is an intelligent minority of Christians, and there is a

considerable number of young people scarcely to be classed as either Christian or Rationalist, who would readily embrace a rational theory of the growth of the Bible and of Judaism, if only it were presented to them in a form free from learned technicalities, reasonably compact, and moderate in price. For such readers I have prepared the following story of Judaism and its early literature. It is intended, in a succeeding volume, to deal in a similar manner with the New Testament and other early Christian writings.

Much labour might have been spared me if I had taken the Bible as it stands and examined it book by book, and added commentaries on the state of religion which each illustrates. But the result would have been a very confused conception of the development of Judaism and its sacred literature. I felt at the outset that the only satisfactory way of tracing the history of the Hebrew religion was to proceed *on chronological lines*. For that purpose the Bible must be completely broken up, and the parts re-arranged in order of the time of their composition. How thickly beset with difficulties this method is can be partially imagined by the reader of the ensuing pages, but can be only fully appreciated by students of such works as I have quoted in my foot notes. I have, as a matter of fact, had to carve a chronological road for myself, though it is proper to add that the general outline of my history follows that drawn by Huenen Renan, and Montefiore. For the Biblical scriptures and their literary form my chief authority has been Driver's most admirable "Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament." I fear many defects will appear to expert scrutiny, but there are two points I desire to plead. (1) That I have diligently compared one authority

with another, so as to check facts at every turn, and (2) That the mode of study here carried out is the only profitable one—viz., a chronological union of political history with the narrative of the sacred literature. The secular and religious life must be regarded in conjunction. They explain and illumine each other.

The editor of the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, in an article which I read with much esteem and attention, remarked that my first volume did not lay adequate stress on the psychology of religion. The criticism is probably just, and will, perhaps, apply to the story of Judaism here set forth. To explore the intricacies of a national conscience, and lay bare the spiritual springs of faith and theology, is a delicate and supreme task, which, I suggest, requires greater knowledge than we have yet attained. Meanwhile, the first step is to collect the historical and literary facts—a process which is still far from complete.

F J GOULD

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# CONTENTS

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SECT	PAGE
1 Geography of Palestine and adjacent countries	9
2 Races of Palestine and adjoining countries	11
3 Leading features of Semitic religions	15
4 The patriarchs	25
5 Moses, the Exodus, origin of Yahveh worship	31
6 Entry into Canaan, the Judges, and Early Kings	36
7 Chronology of the Kings	46
8 The religion of Israel before the great prophets	47
9 Genesis legends	54
10 The prophets Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, etc	62
11 Deuteronomy and Jeremiah	66
12 The Exile and its literature and the return	73
13 Job	80
14 Aramaic	82
15 The Temple rebuilt	82
16 The Priestly Code	84
17 Ezra and Nehemiah	92
18 From Nehemiah to the death of Judas Maccabeus	95
19 The Psalms	109
20 The Septuagint	112
21 Canon of the Old Testament	114
22 From Judas Maccabeus to Herod the Great	117
23 From the accession of Herod the Great 37 B.C. to the reign of the Emperor Nero 54 C.E.	146
24 The religious environment of early Christianity	161
Notes	197
Last of Books	199
Index	203

# A Concise History of Religion.

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## VOLUME II

### 1. Geography of Palestine and Adjacent Countries—

The coast which stretches southwards from the headland of Carmel to the plains of Lower Egypt is low, and edged with small hills of sand, blown up by the westerly winds which come across the Mediterranean. Through this level seaboard flow gentle rivers, the loamy valleys of which yield rich harvests of wheat and maize. Behind this strip of land rises a rough plateau of limestone, which sharpens into the Lebanon mountains on the north, and spreads into the desert of the Tih on the south. Its average elevation is 2,000 feet above the sea level, Jerusalem standing at 2,593 feet. Through the eastern side of the plateau, which faces the Jordan river, rapid streams plunge their way, wearing deep channels in the rock. The Jordan issues from a small pool in the hollow country between the Lebanon and Anti Lebanon ranges, and passes into the shallow lakelet of Huleh. Thence it rolls swiftly into the sea of Tiberias (Galilee), a hill girdled sheet of clear water, abounding in fish. Now turbid, and liable to floods in February and March, when the snows of Lebanon melt, the Jordan winds down the deep Ghor to the Dead Sea. This salt lake lies 1,292 feet below the line of the Mediterranean. It is succeeded to the south by the depression of the Arabah, a barren valley of sand, gravel, and shingle. Journeying further in this direction, we arrive at the peninsula of S<sup>3</sup>ai, where, between the gulfs of Suez and Akabah, massive ridges of granite, porphyry, and schist frown over deep ravines. Little water is found in these chasms, except when the December thunder-clouds burst, and send torrents roaring down the cliffs.

East of the long valley of the Arabah and the Ghor, limestone ranges reach a height of 3,000 or 4,000 feet. Hot springs well up from rocky fissures. Of a far fiercer volcanic activity in past ages indications occur in the basaltic crags and extinct craters of the Jaulan district, east and north-east of the lake of Tiberias.

If we follow the river Orontes in its course through western Syria, we approach the great Cilitian passes which lead to the tablelands of Asia Minor. If we venture eastwards across the Syrian desert, we descend to the valley of the two rivers the Tigris and Euphrates, which rise in the Armenian heights, and deposit a fertile alluvium along their course through the vast flats of Mesopotamia. The waters of the Tigris once laved the walls of Nineveh and those of the Euphrates rippled through Babylon. If we thence wend our way southwards, we are lost in the sandy desolation of the interior of Arabia.

Much in the changeful fortunes of the Hebrew people may be explained by an attentive scrutiny of the map of Palestine and its environment. Palestine lies, so to speak, at the cross roads to great empires. The hosts of Egypt, on their way to battle with Syrians and Hittites, marched along the Mediterranean coast and through the passes between Lebanon and Anti Lebanon (Cœle-Syria). When the Assyrians made war upon Egypt the roads of Palestine shook beneath the chariots of Nineveh. Alexander, advancing from Asia Minor to the conquest of the land of the Nile, traversed Syria and Judæa. The great Pompey, who subdued Armenia and the borders of Arabia, naturally included Palestine within the circle of his victories.

Though it looms so vast in the history of religion, Palestine is not much larger than Wales. Its breadth, from Carmel to the trans-Jordanic limit is about 90 miles, its length 'from Dan even unto Beersheba' (i.e., from north to south) is 144 miles\*.

\* It should be noted that the name 'Syria' is usually understood to embrace Palestine but is often applied only to the area north of the Jordan sources, and extending between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates. The Palestine Exploration Fund publishes a good 'Memoir on the Geology and Geography of Arabia Petrea Palestine and adjoining Districts' by E. Hull.

**2. Races of Palestine and Adjoining Countries.**—The Semitic languages are Hebrew, Phœnician, Aramaic, Assyrian, Babylonian, Arabic, and Ethiopic; but all the peoples who spoke these languages were not Semitic. The dwellers in Babylonia were blended from Semitic and Accadian stocks. The Jewish people, who seem first to have learnt Hebrew from the Phœnicians and Canaanites, are a mixed race; and to day they are marked off in Europe into the Sephardim of Spain and Italy, and the Ashkenazim of Germany, Poland, and Russia. It is curious that the Bible should represent David as fair complexioned and red-haired, and that among his bodyguards there should be Cherethites, Syrians, Hittites, etc. On the walls of the Egyptian temple of Karnak the captives taken in the campaign against Rehoboam are pictured with features that are more Amorite than Jewish. Purely Jewish faces are portrayed on an Assyrian obelisk of the time of Shalmaneser II. (842 B.C.); but these stand for prisoners from the northern kingdom of Samaria. Perhaps the most pronounced Semitic type now extant is to be found in the Bedouin Arabs.

The Semitic physical characteristics are, glossy-black and curly hair; head long (dolichocephalic); nose prominent; lips full and ruddy; face oval; skin white and tinged with healthy colour; the bodily powers capable of long endurance.

The people who preceded the Jews in Palestine, or occupied the neighbouring areas, appear to have been of mixed blood, yet possessing much affinity with the Jews themselves. When they first settled in these regions cannot be told; but so far back as the time of Amenophis IV. of Egypt (1466–1433 B.C.) letters passed between the Egyptian court and the subject princes of Canaan or Kft; and some of these letters, inscribed on clay tablets, are still extant. From Egyptian monuments it is learnt that the Canaanites had red or bronzed skins, and wore embroidered kilts and upturned shoes, they were probably not unlike the modern Syrians, and have been called the southern Phœnicians. While the Canaanites clung to the towns, the Amorites were chiefly villagers, though brick cities built by them have been brought to light, as at Lachish. Scattered up and down the country, they were its chief occupiers at the period of the Hebrew entry. In features they were



blond, with blue eyes and red beards. Among outlying populations were the Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, and Amalekites akin to the Jews, and mainly dwellers in tents. The Kenites lived among the Hebrews, and practised the useful art of the iron smith. Without settled habitation they wandered, gypsy like, from place to place. The Philistines who were partly of Phœnician descent, guarded the coast region under the authority of Egypt.

Egyptian records of 1700-1600 B.C. make mention of the Phœnicians and this nation may have settled on the sea board north of Palestine at about 2000 B.C. Their oldest city was Sidon, their busiest, Tyre, their most sacred, Gebal or Byblos, which became famous for the celebration of the rites of Adonis or Tammuz, the Sun god who died and rose again. The ships of Tyre traded with Tarshish, the western regions. Towards 800 B.C. Carthage was founded on the African coast and its citizens always testified, by their annual gifts, their veneration for the mother-city of Tyre. To their commercial genius the Phœnicians added aptness in metal work, glass-making (an art borrowed from Egypt) and a taste for building tombs and temples which were not, however, highly artistic.

From the rocks of the Taurus mountains there descended in ancient times a people who spread themselves northwards and southwards. In Egyptian pictures they are sketched with beardless and quite ugly faces, the skin yellow, the forehead receding, a plait of hair hanging down the back, and one over each shoulder, stature short, limbs stout, long loose coats, snow-shoes turned up at the toes and long gloves, indicating origin from a race which climbed frozen heights, a dagger in the belt, and double-headed axe in the hand. These were the Hittites or Khita (Khata). They built chariots, moulded bronze figures, used engraved gems and seals, skilfully extracted silver from the ore, carved ivory couches and were acquainted with the art of writing. With their powerful army, Rameses II (1333-1300 B.C.) fought a great battle at Kadesh. Centuries later we hear of their paying heavy tribute of silver talents and gold cups to the Assyrian king Assur nasir pal (885-860 B.C.). Among their cities were Carchemish, a fortress which kept ward over the ford of the Euphrates and Hamath, whose king is said to have tendered gifts of silver and gold to David.

(\* Samuel viii 9-10) \* The Hittites under the form of the children of Heth are reported as having had friendly intercourse with Abram (Gen xiii) Though of Turanian blood and Chinese type the Hittites had imported religious ideas from Semitic Babylonia With the worship of the male god Sutekh (who blends with the sun god Attys Adonis etc) was joined that of a more conspicuous female deity Atargatis (Derketo or Ashtoreth) of Carchemish As the Hittites advanced westward across Asia Minor they erected monuments inscribed with hieroglyphs Every where also they carried with them the religion of their great goddess in whose temples sacred prostitutes were maintained and in whose honour priestesses danced and brandished axes and bows These wild women are thought to have suggested the legend of the Amazons and their goddess in the process of religious evolution took new shape in the Artemis of the Greeks So late as 200 years into the Christian era she was adored at the temple of Mabog (Carchemish) and eunuchs gashed themselves with knives as they besought her favour This temple may have perpetuated many features of the old Hittite worship With its gilded gates was a veiled Holy of Holies the court contained a brazen altar and a huge basin for sacred fesh and certain images were supposed to perspire and to answer questions by oracular motions It is curious to observe that among the ancient institutions of the Hittites were cities of refuge to which men slayers might flee and the Hebrews may have adopted the custom from their northern neighbours

The Egyptians whose physical traits are not unfaithfully repeated in the modern Copts belonged to the white race While the unclouded sun tinged the men's skin with red, that of the women being more carefully protected remained white and is so represented in portraits. Eyes and hair were black the jaw massive the skull dolichocephalic. Lighthearted and sociable, they created a domestic life which was rendered agreeable by a thousand arts—by painting carvings in stone ivory and bone skilfully turned

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\* The Lev W Wright in his *Lamp of the Hittites* amusingly takes the trouble to point out that Bath Sheba once the wife of a Hittite was the mother of Solomon and ancestress of Our Lord.

furniture, porcelain, and glass vases and bowls, lutes, harps, and cymbals, etc., toys for children, and draughtsmen for the leisure hours of elders, well chased jewellery, and elaborate articles of toilet. So antique was their literature that hieroglyphics as old as 4000 B.C. are yet existing, and hieratic texts (in cursive handwriting) are preserved which go back to 2500 B.C. Their knowledge of astronomy was evinced in the colossal pyramids, which are so constructed as to facilitate accurate observation, from their various points, of the paths of the planets, the phases of the moon, the course of the sun, and the zodiacal constellations. In artificial lakes, canals, embankments, and sluices was exhibited their engineering genius. Though well inclined to peace, the Egyptians were capable of conducting great campaigns, as their paintings of battles and sieges bear witness. Their religion housed itself in temples with spacious courtyards and noble colonnades, and their faith in the reality of the soul life after death was attested by their reverent embalming and guarding of mummies. The points of contact between Hebrew and Egyptian religion will be noticed later on. Meanwhile it may be observed that the language of Egypt was probably akin to some mother speech, which gave birth to the Semitic tongues, and a list of words has been compiled in Hebrew and Egyptian which shows a noteworthy likeness. It should be borne in mind that the Egyptians may have derived their origin from the land of Punt (or Pun = Southern Arabia and the opposite African coast), which they regarded as a sacred region.

Of the still nearer relationship between Judaism and the religion of Mesopotamia we shall also speak in due course. The earliest dwellers in that great plain were Semitic, and they were conquered, but not rooted out, by a Turanian race, known as the Accadians, who appear to have migrated from the highlands of Central Asia. The Accadians gradually yielded to the power of the Babylonians, who, however, adopted the main elements of the old creed, and maintained the Accadian language for sacred poems, psalms, etc. Physical characteristics of the Babylonians were the small, round head (brachy-cephalic), low forehead, high cheek bones, short stature. As time wore on the Assyrians took the lordship of the valley of the Euphrates and Tigris.

More war-like and aggressive than the Babylonians, they have been called "the Romans of the East." They were a thick-set, muscular, curly bearded, black-haired, beetle-browed, dolicho-cephalic race. Cuneiform writing was invented by the Accadians; on a cylinder of porphyry in the British Museum is inscribed the name of King Sargon (3750 B.C.); brick tablets are extant, dating from 2500 B.C. onwards, and bearing inscriptions. Many of these tablets relate to business contracts, sale and purchase of land, etc. As their civilisation evolved, the Chaldeans displayed no small constructive and artistic power in their walled cities, terraced towers, bas-reliefs of hunting and military scenes, and coloured enamels with decorative designs.

Such were the races in whom the small and struggling Hebrew nation found neighbours, rivals, and conquerors. Across this stage, already teeming with the evidences of civilisation, commerce, art, and literature, we behold the early Hebrews move with their humble caravan of camels, sheep, and goats. Few and feeble, barbaric and ignorant, they, like the world about them, little dreamed how deep a mark they were to cut in the history of religion.\*

**3. Leading Features of Semitic Religions.**—It is hopeless to expect we can form a rational conception of the old Hebrew religion without some acquaintance with the general Semitic system of worship from which Judaism was mainly derived; and, on this subject, we may draw an ample store of information from Professor W. Robertson Smith's "Religion of the Semites." The Professor, it should be premised, defines the Semites as all who are included under, and allied to, the Hebrews, Syrians, and Arabs.

\* Sayce's "Races of the Old Testament," and "The Hittites;" Wright's "Empire of the Hittites;" Lang's "Human Origins." For list of Hebrew and Egyptian words see Gerald Massey's "Book of the Beginnings," vol. ii.; for notes on Egyptian astronomy, Proctor's "The Great Pyramids." A thoughtful inspection of the antiquities in the British Museum will much assist the reader in following the subjects of the present volume, and many useful notes will be found in the "Guide Book." I would also strongly urge the advantage of an examination of the beautiful volumes on "Ancient Art in Egypt, Chaldaea, Phœnicia, Judea, Syria, and Asia Minor, etc.," by MM. Perrot and Chipiez.

*Holy Places*—The gods were localised, Yahveh (Jehovah) in Sinai, and afterwards Canaan Assur in Assyria, Melkarth in Tyre, Asarte in Byblos. Beyond their special limits they were deemed comparatively powerless, as we see in the case of the Aramians of Damascus, who, when defeated by the army of Ahab, exclaimed "Their gods are gods of the hills, therefore they were stronger than we, but let us fight against them in the plain and surely we shall be stronger than they." All other lands than their own, too were thought unclean, and when Naaman, the Syrian, wished to show reverence to the God of Canaan he carried away two mule-loads of soil from the holy land of Yahveh. The spot where the god appeared became sanctified, thus, Abram built an altar on the plain of Moreh after a vision of Yahveh, and Jacob reared a sacred pillar in the place where he dreamed of the celestial ladder. By the modern barbaric Arabs thickets, trees, and springs are regarded as hallowed by the indwelling of the demons or Jinns. When the Israelites procured welcome water from a newly discovered spring they addressed it as if it were animated by a listening spirit "Spring up O well! sing ye unto it." Such localities are often made asylums for Arab fugitives, and stray camels once within the bounds, are beyond the claim of even their owners. Mount Horeb was fenced off from the common herd. The holy territory of Mecca stretches some hours' journey on every side of the city. Within sacred enclosures the Arabs will neither fell trees nor spill blood. When approaching the deity of Sinai the Hebrews were enjoined to wash their clothing and abstain from their wives, and Pliny relates that the Minreans practised a like abstinence when gathering frankincense for sacred uses. And singularly enough, the prostitutes who frequented the temples of Syria, etc., were wont to retire with their partners beyond the precincts where the divinity dwelt.

Modern Arabia has its holy well Zamzam, which has been venerated from pre-Mohammedan times, and medicinal springs are thought to be inhabited by the Jinns. Into such waters the Semites would cast jewels by way of gifts. That the Jordan was believed to be sacred would almost appear from the legend of the cleansing of Naaman the leper. Holy water (Num. 17) was administered

to women suspected of adultery the draught causing as was supposed a ghastly disease in the case of guilt. In the New Testament we meet the pool of Siloam presided over by an angelic jinn. Arabia also still maintains remnants of the olden tree-worship a tree at Mecca for example being hung with offerings of weapons, ostrich eggs etc. In Palestine trees are sometimes devoutly festooned with rags. Hebrew tradition reported that Yahveh dwelt in a bush (Deut. xxxiii. 16). In the swaying of mulberry trees David heard the divine oracle.

Of stone worship relics are yet visible in and near Palestine. A menhir or erect block was the simplest form. Probably the stones of Gilgal (rolling) which the book of Joshua regards as religious memorials were boulders of porphyry or basalt which had rolled down into the Jordan valley during the violent torrents of the rainy season. The dolmen or stone lying across two others is also met with, and in Ileria beyond Jordan circles of stones are yet to be found. The cippus was a pillar with a species of cap and had a phallic significance\*. This character may or may not have been attached to the pillars which fronted the temple of Melkarth at Tyre, or those which under the names of Jachin and Boaz, stood conspicuously before the temple at Jerusalem.

In a stone or piled up cairn the Semites were wont to see a meeting place between men and gods. The ancient Arabs would lead a camel to a sacred stone and after drinking blood from a freshly-cut wound in the animal fall upon it in a pious fury tear it to pieces and eat it raw before the virtue of the blood could evaporate. Into a trench encircling the stone blood was poured as food for the gods who were thought to show favour to the assembled clan by sharing the public meal. Among the Arabs as is well known the meal forms a bond of friendship between all who share in it and in like manner a meal consumed at the holy stone was a token of union between deity and worshippers.

*Sacrifice*—In the tribal meal at the sacred menhir or dolmen we see the origin of sacrifice among the Semites

\* Illus. raions a e g a c n n Ferro and Chip ez s Ancient Art in Sard nia, Judæa etc

and, in the stone, the first altar. It is important to remark that the idea of propitiating the gods or of atoning for sin, was a late development. The offerings were eatable, or suitable for some personal use. Oil was effused upon a stone as a grateful application for the hair and skin of the invisible deity. Libations of wine or water were poured out for the gods to drink, and the priest moistened the foot of the altar with the blood of the grape, which exhaled "a sweet smelling savour unto the most high King of all" (Ecclus. i. 15). In the same spirit Jotham's parable describes wine as "cheering God and man". Bread was laid out before Yahveh on a sacred table and a table of "shew bread" was offered to Bel in the great temple at Babylon. Practically there was no distinction between a feast and a sacrifice. The prophet Samuel is pictured as officiating at a sacrifice or public meal, at which some thirty people were invited guests. If the feast was solemn at the opening, it ended with an expansive gaiety, just as the devotees of the sun god Adonis, after lamenting his death wound up with cries of gladness. The shouts uttered at a sacrifice may have been a reminiscence of days when lamentation was set up for the death of the sacred victim. The Greeks raised a prolonged "Ololuge." With the Hebrews the wail became a joyful Hallelujah.

Gradually the offerings took a more formal character as of the first fruits of a crop and when the festivals were centralised and were made part of an expensive ceremonial the people were called upon to pay a tax of a tenth of their produce. Tithes were levied by the kings of Babylonia and Persia. The priests of Melkarth received tithes from the Phœnicians and every year the city of Carthage sent a voluntary tithe to the venerated temple at Tyre. It was natural that Solomon's temple, built under Phœnician influence should be the occasion of a tithe-impost upon the Jewish people.

Certain animals were looked upon by the primitive Semites as akin to both gods and men. Objects of totemic reverence they were free from the sacrificial knife except under peculiarly solemn circumstances. They were marked off as "unclean," being in reality, invested with sacred attributes which protected them from molestation. Thus the sow was sacro-sanct to the Syrians, and dedicated to

Astarte and Aphrodite; and it appears among the "unclean" beasts of the Hebrews. A dog, according to Phœnician legend, was a companion of the divine Melkarth; and a dog was eaten at Carthage in a sacrificial meal. Fish was forbidden food to all Syrians, except at solemn religious sacraments. In these cases it was evidently imagined that the worshipper, when eating the sacred animal, was in some way coming into close communion with the god. To the sun the horse was sacred, and was so regarded by some of the kings of Judah (2 Kings xxiii. 11). The dove was the hallowed bird of Astarte, and furnished Christianity with a visible figure of the Holy Spirit. Domestic animals were accounted sacred in earlier ages, and the Phœnicians always refused to eat the flesh of the cow.

Even to this day, when certain wild Arab tribesmen desire to conclude a solemn agreement, they will open their veins, and suck one another's blood. In past times all who took part in a league would dip their hands in the blood of an animal slain at a holy place. To win the favour of Baal the priests of Carmel gashed their flesh with knives. Sometimes blood was smeared upon a sacred image. In these practices the underlying idea is that of union between man and man, or gods and men, being established by means of the bond of blood. Less repulsive and less painful was the gift of hair which was substituted for blood. When, for instance, youths were initiated into the privileges of manhood a portion of their hair was presented to the deities. Among the Jews a Nazarite was a man or woman who abstained from wine, and let the hair grow long for a stated period, after which the shorn locks were thrown by the priest into a sacrificial fire. A continual hair-offering was afterwards to become a distinctive mark of the tonsured Christian monk.

Of the blood-covenant there are clear traces in the Hebrew scriptures. King Saul, alarmed at his hungry warriors eating flesh with the blood, hastily erected a large boulder at which cattle might be slaughtered and the blood drained out (1 Sam. xiv.)

Moses is said to have sprinkled sacrificial blood upon the book of the covenant and upon the assembled people; and in the same way he consecrated Aaron and his sons to the



priesthood. If a drop of sacred blood fell upon a priest's garment, it must be washed in the holy place of the tabernacle or temple. How the blood of young lambs was smeared upon the doorposts of the Hebrews is picturesquely told us in the legend of the Passover. It should be also noted that the fat of sacrifices was reckoned holy and was forbidden to be eaten under pain of divinely inflicted death (Lev vii 25).

When in a state of extreme barbarism people would devour the skin, offal, and even bones of a sacrifice. But, with an advance in refinement, parts of the beast were burnt as being peculiarly sacred and some portions only eaten by the offerers. In the course of time when private property developed into an institution, the worshipper came to look upon the sacrificed animal as a personal gift to his god and would devote the whole of it to the flames. But this was certainly not the primitive principle on which beasts were slain at stone or altar. Nor was the idea of atonement affixed to sacrifices in early ages. The Passover was not an atoning ritual but was only the Hebrew fashion of celebrating a wide-spread vernal offering, for in the spring season the Arabs held a great sacrifice, at Hierapolis animals were burnt alive on a pyre, and in Cyprus, on April 1st a sheep was slain in honour of *Istarte* (*Aphrodite*). This burning alive at Hierapolis points to the peculiar sacredness of the animals which might not be touched with the knife. Even the scape-goat, upon whose head the sins of the people were laid by the Jewish High Priest was considered not as a substitute for the transgressors but as a bearer of evil infection and it was therefore let loose into uninhabited land (Lev xvi) just as at the supposed cleansing of a leper a bird was let go into the open fields as a carrier of the disease (Lev xiv).

Curious indications of the root principle of Semitic sacrifice are seen in the "horns" of the altar which were originally the actual horns of the slain animal, placed at the corners as a mark of the in-dwelling god. A similar train of belief led worshippers to show their kinship with the divinity by assuming the skin of the sacrificed beast. Syrian youths, at their initiation into the status of manhood, were shod with slippers made from the hides of sacrifices, and the worshippers of the fish-god Dagon used to clothe

themselves in fish-skins, which they regarded as a veritable "robe of righteousness."

It is probable that the incense so often associated with sacrifice was at first made from the gum of sacred trees, the exudation being taken for the blood of the tree, and so possessing a vital property.

*Taboo.*—In Polynesia the word *taboo* is applied to places or objects specially marked off, and with which familiar contact is forbidden, as a woman after childbirth, or men who have touched a dead body. The Jews had similar customs of taboo, of which the book of Leviticus yields many illustrations. Like all uncivilised peoples, they held menstruation as taboo, involving uncleanness, and calling for ceremonial purgings (Lev. xii. xv.).\*

*Likenesses between Babylonian and Hebrew Religions.*—Since the Babylonian religion was derived from the Accadian, and the language in which the Accadian legends were cast was dying out about 2000 B.C., it is evident that the main body of the Babylonian creed was older than Judaism, for the date 2120 B.C. is usually assigned to Abraham, and 1250 B.C. to the Exodus. It concerns our present subject, then, to observe the likenesses between the religions of the Babylonians and the Hebrews.

First, as to the Chaldean temple. The most ancient temple in Babylonia was believed to be that of the Sun, at Sippara, about thirty miles south-west of the modern Bagdad. The ruins of Sippara (a site which is now known as Abu Habbah) have been excavated, and the remains of the temple and its ancient records brought to light. It was known to the Accadians as E-Dingira=House of God, and to the Babylonians as Bit-ilu=House of God; and this latter name is the equivalent of the Phœnician and Jewish Beth-el=House of God. From the Holy Place was divided off the Holy of Holies by doors of cedar-wood. In a sacred coffer were preserved the written (cuneiform) records of the foundation and repair of the building. As in other Chaldean temples, there was at Sippara an image of the patron-god. \* \*

Chaldæa had a definite system of sacrifices. The earlier

\* Up to this point the present section is drawn chiefly from W. Robertson Smith's "Religion of the Semites," first series.

offerings consisted of bread, fruit, and flour. A Sippara tablet mentions oxen and sheep as victims for the altar. Certain portions were allotted to the priests, the head, shoulders, and certain portions of fat being consumed, just as the Levitical code set apart sacrificial perquisites to the sons of Aaron (Lev vii). Offerings of first fruits were made, and tablets have been found which are inscribed with receipts for these tributes. Libations were poured out to the gods, and bread displayed on stands before the altars. Basins filled with water for purification were part of the sacred furniture, and remind us of the Brazen Sea of Solomon's temple.

Solemn processions took place, when the gods were borne in an ark or shrine, the ark being called a "ship," in reminiscence of the maritime life of the forefathers of the Babylonians. The priests had shaven heads, and were vested in robes fastened with girdles and the king as chief priest, wore a breastplate in which glittered twelve precious stones.\*

The *Sabbath* was an Accadian institution, and was sometimes called a Day of Rest for the Heart, the Babylonian name was *Sabatu*. On this day, the seventh of each week, the king as head of the State, observed a number of taboos avoiding the flesh of birds and cooked fruits, refraining from sacrifice military duties, law making riding in a chariot, and from medicine.†

The underworld of the Chaldeans was *Al Sualu* = Hebrew *Sheol*. In the Authorised Version of the Bible *Sheol* was translated by "hell," "pit," "grave;" as in the passage, "Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell." The Chaldean city of the dead was girt about with seven walls, pierced by seven gates, and a river rolled around. In the centre dwelt the goddess *Nin lugal* (or *Davkina*) she was wife to *Ea* god of the surging deep. There too presided the jackal-headed god of death, *Irkalla* (or *Nergal*). The gloomy gates were guarded by colossal bulls. In this 'abode of chaos' the shades of the dead flitted like bats.

\* W. St. Chad Boscawen's lecture on the Chaldean temple in 'I am under the Dust of Ages,' and A. H. Sayce's Hibbert Lectures on Babylonian religion.

† Ch. Perce Edwards, "Witness of Assyria," chap. ix., 'Records of the Past,' vol. II.

among the dusky vaults. It was to this nether region that a famous legend describes the lady Ishtar as descending; and as she passed from gate to gate the fair goddess of love was stripped of crown and jewels and robes; and, after being smitten with disease by the baleful queen of Sheol, she was saved through the intervention of the gods. The Hebrew Sheol had its gates of death, its terrors of snares, and entrapping cords, and threatening flood (2 Sam. xxii. 5, 6; Ps. ix. 13, etc.), and appalling shadow (Job x. 21, 22). In the sublime curse which Isaiah (xiv.) utters upon the tyrant of Babylon he exultingly depicts him as falling into the dread chambers of the dead, who start up from their couches or out of their niches to look upon the ghost of Babylon's king. A yet more detailed vision of Sheol is given by Ezekiel (xxxii.), who shows us the kings and armies of Egypt and Assyria and Edom, and other foes of the Hebrews, lying in vast heaps in the subterranean abyss.\*

Chaldean literature abounds in references to the number seven—the Sabbath, the seven spirits of destruction, the seven-headed serpent, the seven lights of the earth (sun, moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn), etc. The Bible follows in the wake of Chaldean thought, and repeatedly gives a serious significance to this number, as in seven-day festivals—e.g., the Passover; Jacob bowing seven times before Esau; seven sprinklings with sacrificial blood; wisdom's palace built on seven pillars; seven children divinely promised to the childless woman; and the number seven completely dominates the Book of Revelation. The veneration for the number would appear to have a triple basis—the series of planets just enumerated, which included all the travelling celestial lights then known; the division of the lunar month into four equal parts, and a like division connected with the recurrence of menstruation. The Kabbalists used to say, "God loves the number seven under the whole heaven"†

The Chaldean belief, that a supreme and mystical name which ruled the universe was known only to the god Ea,

\* St. Chad Boscawen's "Sheol and other Essays," C. Edwards' "Witness of Assyria," chap. ix.

† See an interesting article on "Sacred Seven" in J. M. Wheeler's "Bible Studies."

put to the sword (as he relates on the "Moabite Stone") 7,000 citizens of Nebo. So, too, the Yahveh of the Hebrews expected a tribute of human blood when a town was captured; he was angry when Saul spared Agag, the Amalekite; he received as a gift the slain daughter of Jephthah; the seven sons of Saul were put to death by hanging "before Yahveh" (2 Sam. xxi. 9); and the heads of the worshippers of Baal-Peor were exposed in the sun before Yahveh by divine order (Num. xxv. 4). Side by side with Baal was adored the moon-goddess and love-goddess Astarte (Ash-toreth, Taanith), who was related with the older belief in Ishtar. To her, the Queen of Heaven, Israelite women burnt incense and kneaded cakes, as Jeremiah wrathfully reminds us (xlv.). Her temples were frequented by women who, under her patronage, sold their honour; and these practices appear among the Hebrews, as in the case of those who performed the rites of Baal-Peor. Another Hebrew adoption from their Canaanite neighbours took long to banish. This was the adoration of the phallic "grove" (Ashera) or pole; and it was such a pole that King Asa indignantly dragged out of Yahveh's house.\* Far later than Asa's time the prophet Ezekiel was moved to anger at the sight of Jewish women weeping for Tammuz, the dead sun-god (viii. 14).

**4. The Patriarchs.**—Omitting for the present the subjects of the Creation, Paradise, and the Deluge, it will be convenient here to glance at the accounts given in the book of Genesis of the ancestors of the human race in general, and of the Hebrews in particular. While none of the patriarchs, from Adam to Joseph, can be regarded as historical personages, the narratives in which their names are embedded are worthy of study.

Of the Babylonian names of the months, which were adopted by the later Jews, the third (May-June) was Sivan, which, to the old Akkadians, was known as the "brick-making month." It was at this season that the Tigris and Euphrates began to abate their flood, and leave on their

\* C. G. Montefiore's "Hibbert Lectures on Hebrew Religion," Lect. II.; Wheeler's "Bible Studies," chapter on "Phallic Worship among the Jews."

banks a deposit of mud suitable for building purposes. Now, for the same epoch of the year the Chaldean zodiacal sign was that of the Twins. Thus, in curious juxtaposition, we find the Twins calendared with the building of houses and cities. Greek legend told of two brothers who built the temple of Apollo at Delphi, and how one of them cut off the other's head. Roman tradition made Tarquin find, among the foundations of Rome, the still bleeding head of a man who had long ago been slain by his brother, and still more familiar is the story of the building of the city by Romulus and Remus, and the fratricide of Remus. These and similar wide spread fables seem related to the history of Cain and Abel, Cain, the murderer of his brother, being the first builder of a city (Gen. iv. 17).

Singular results are revealed by a close reading of the genealogies in Genesis iv. and v. In chapter iv. we have a description of Cain and his posterity. The *Cainite* genealogy thus runs — 1. Adam, 2. Cain, 3. Enoch, 4. Irad, 5. Methusael, 6. Methusael, 7. Lamech, 8, 9, and 10. Jabal, Jubal, and Tubal Cain, who are fathers of races. In chapter v. the record begins again with Adam, and proceeds with a curious likeness to, and yet variation from, the first catalogue. Will the reader take the trouble to compare the names? 1. Adam, 2. Seth, 3. Enos, 4. Cainan, 5. Mahaleel, 6. Jared, 7. Enoch, 8. Methuselah, 9. Lamech, 10. Noah, whose sons Shem, Ham, and Japheth, are fathers of races. This list gives us the descent of the children of Seth, or the *Sethites*. Then observe the contrast in the catalogues. The first tells of Cain's jealousy, his murderous blow, his accursed vagabondage, of the first city being built, of Jabal, the tented herdsman, of Jubal, the melodious harpist, of Tubal Cain, the blower of the smith's bellows, and of Lamech's bloody sword and song of triumph. The second with the exception of a remark as to Enoch's being 'taken' by God, is a dry enumeration of names and ages. The one is lively and mythic, the other commonplace, and, as we shall see later on, they emanate from different writers. In effect, the *Cainite* catalogue is an earlier version of the events of human antiquity. The *Sethite* list is later, more matter of fact, and purged from mythical narrative. It will be perceived, too, that the lists are grouped in tens. And when we learn that the ancient

Persians believed that they had had ten primeval kings the Chinese ten divine emperors that the Germans had a tradition of Woden's ten ancestors the Arabs of ten kings in their historical origin and the Egyptians of the ten divinities who governed the early human race we are prompted to ask why this number should reappear with such strange regularity. When we remember we have ten fingers, and that to ancestral man as to the modern savage the number of the fingers stands for any large and indefinite total we begin to see some light on these mythical genealogies. And yet more light breaks when we turn to the Chaldean legends of the twelve signs of the zodiac. The passage of the sun through the twelve signs is thrown into romantic form in the story of Gilgamesh (Izdubar) who so far as can be gathered from the fragmentary cuneiform tablets passes through twelve scenes of adventure. Now the first month of the Chaldean year was associated with the myth of the creation of the world. The second was connected with the creation of man by the god Ea and at this point we may introduce Adam the first name in our list of Sethites. The third or brick-making month was suggested by the friendship struck up by the hero Gilgamesh and the wonder-working Lugalbani and this pair of heroes is matched by the brothers Cain and Abel. Following the zodiacal signs and the patriarchs of Genesis in the order thus commenced we find the eighth month which was dedicated to the sun god Marduk (Merodach) coinciding with Enoch who lived 365 years (a suggestive number). Marduk was to the Babylonians an embodiment of mercy and justice and Enoch was taken up because in purity in life he walked with God. We pass to the next month the ninth set apart to the sign of the Archer and we are confronted with the fact that the next name in our Hebrew list Methuselah denotes an archer.\* Take the eleventh month the sign of which is the Water bearer, here we encounter in the great myth of Gilgamesh the story of the Deluge and the corresponding Hebrew patriarch is Noah the hero of the Flood. Are these resemblances purely accidental? Do they not suggest a Chaldean and mythical source for the supposed patriarchs of the book of Genesis?\*

\* F. Lenormant & Les Origines de l'Histoire chapters iv v and vi.

If we consider closely the biographies of the line of patriarchs from Abraham to Joseph, we observe a peculiar plan and theory of history underlying the narrative. The personages are all brought on the stage as progenitors of tribes, Joseph, of the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh, Jacob's twelve sons (including Joseph), of the twelve clans of Israel, Jacob is the patriarch who first assumed the name of Israel, his brother Esau gives birth to the Edomites, Lot is the forefather of Ammon and Moab, and Abraham is the fountain head of all these kindred peoples. The less important tribes are traced back to Jacob's concubines, the prouder clans derive their lineage from Jacob's honourable wives, Leah and Rachel. As a matter of fact, nations cannot trace their pedigree with such simplicity, for they grow up by a process of intermingling with conquering or conquered or neighbouring peoples. Besides this, the Biblical dates would seem to allow no more than 400 or 600 years between Abraham and the Exodus (Gen. xv. 13-16), during which period the Israelites, Edomites, Ammonites, Moabites, and Ishmaelites had developed into full formed and distinct nations. So this incredibility we may, of course, add that of the presence in Genesis of a supernatural element such as is displayed in the early history of all races.\*

There is however, nothing unreasonable in the supposition that (say about 2100 B.C., the date usually assigned) a small band of Semites, with their camels, cattle, and sheep may have left the lowlands of "Ur of the Chaldees" (the modern Mugheir) and made their way across the Syrian desert to Harran (or Kharan). At Ur stood a great temple to the moon-god Sin, and it is possible that these Semitic emigrants may have carried with them to the west many of the old Akkadian beliefs and modes of worship. Harran also, lying in a pleasant valley near the Euphrates, was sacred to the moon god. From Harran Abraham and Lot are said to have journeyed into the already well settled land of Canaan. Attempts have been made to connect the kings against whom Abraham fought with certain names in Babylonian inscriptions, but with no satisfactory result. Arrioch, of Ellasar, is thought to refer to Iri-ku, king of

\* A. Kuenen's "Religion of Israel," chapter II.



Larsa, and Kedorlomer with an Elamite royal house which assumed the title of Kudur \* but Tidal King of nations and Amraphel King of Shinar, still rest in unidentified obscurity †

Among striking vestiges of old time manners in the story of Abraham may be noted the oath taken by the servant before departing to seek a wife for Isaac. In token of fidelity the man lays his hand upon Abraham's phallus. Schrader points out as a sidelight on the ceremony that clay phalli have been discovered in the ruins of Ur of the Chaldees ‡.

It has been argued with much ingenuity by the German author Goldziher though without special reference to the Chaldean myths just mentioned that the Genesis biographies are Hebrew versions of the universal sun myth. According to his interpretation the quarrel between Cain and Abel is a figurative rendering of the contest between day and night Abel being the night sky and Cain the blazing sun who offers sacrifice by fire and is condemned to wander across the heavens. Abraham is the widespread firmament in which the laughing sun sinks to extinction and hence the myth of the almost completed sacrifice of Isaac (laughter). The stealthy Jacob (night) supplants his red and hairy brother Esau (the many rayed sun). Rachel the weeping mother of tradition gives birth to Joseph the rain cloud whose bow is the rainbow (Gen xl x 24) and who imparts fertility to the famished earth. All this system of solar mythology will probably strike the reader as far fetched and inadequate. While there is no doubt that the sun legend has left its mark on Hebrew literature the traces are too vague to admit of such detailed exposition. One good thing however can be said for Goldziher's theory it invents a decent solution for the story of Lot and his daughters Lot representing the night sky and his daughters the roseate glow of morning and evening blending with the twilight §.

\* E. Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament* under Genesis.

† On the difficulties of the question of the four kings see the Witness of Assyria chapter.

‡ For phallic observations among the Jews see Wheeler's *Bible Studies*.

§ Goldziher's *Mythology among the Hebrews*.

The term "Hebrew" is first attached to Abraham in Gen. xiv. 13. The name (Ibrim = people beyond) was probably applied by the Canaanites to the wandering folk who pastured their herds on the eastern side of the river Jordan. In this sense the Hebrews should include the Edomites, Moabites, and Ammonites.\* "Israel" (= El's warrior—that is, God's warrior) may have been the name of a tribe which once inhabited the East Jordan country, since it was here that their ancestor was said to have received the title. The children of Israel were known as the "Beni Israel."

On the walls of the temple of Karnak are recorded the conquests of Thothmes III, King of Egypt (about 1600 B.C.), in the region of Palestine, and among a list of 119 names occur those of Jacob-el and Joseph-el†. Places or clans may be intended, but except for these references no allusion to the names of Jacob and Joseph are met with in the Egyptian inscriptions.

It is natural to cherish doubts as to the reality of Joseph when we find that the library of Rameses II, who ruled Egypt about 1350 B.C. contained a manuscript "Tale of the Two Brothers" (now in the British Museum), which yields a striking parallel with a leading episode in the legend of Joseph. The elder brother, Anpu was a well-to-do married farmer, the younger, Bata, devoted himself, with the most unalloyed affection, to his brother's service tending the cattle, and rising at daybreak to call the labourers to the field. Shrewd and gifted withal, Bata knew the language of kine, and, when his cattle told him where the best pasture lay, he led them thither and they became sleek and greatly multiplied in number. When, one day, Bata was sent by his brother to fetch seed from the house, he found his sister-in-law sitting alone at her toilet. After a short conversation about the seed, Anpu's wife approached him with a smiling "Come!" and alluring promises of beautiful garments. "The youth became like a panther with fury" and repulsed her with the burning rebuke "Verily, I have looked upon thee in the light of a mother and thy husband in that of a father to me. What great

\* E. Stade's "Geschichte des Volkes Israel" part 1, book II.

† Article by W. N. Groff in the "Revue Egyptologique," 1884 and Sayce in "Pecorals of the Past" new series vol. V.

abomination is this which thou hast mentioned to me! When he had fled with his load of grain over his shoulder she set her wits evilly to work to plot his ruin. Anpu came home and found his wife lying prostrate and dishevelled. After hearing her sob forth the lying story of his brother's dishonour he went to the stable and dagger in hand waited for Bata's return with the lowing herd. The faithful cattle warned their young master and he escaped destined to pass through further adventures which we need not here recount\*.

**5—Moses the Exodus Origin of Yahveh Worship—** There is nothing irrational in the conjecture that about 1250 B.C.† a number of Hebrew clans shifted their tents and flocks from the borders of Egypt and travelled by slow stages towards the land of Canaan. Nor need we refuse to admit that a leader gifted with religious genius may have assisted the mind of the young Israelite nation to break with some of their traditions and concentrate the highest veneration upon the worship of Yahveh. But this is a different thing from accepting the Biblical biography of Moses and the legend of the oppression, the ten plagues, the passage of the Red Sea and the marvellous incidents of the wilderness journey.

The story of the birth of Moses, the hiding of the infant and his subsequent elevation to the chieftainship of his people was but a Hebrew rendering of the remoter legend of the Chaldean king Sargon. The myth of Sargon of Accad (3750 B.C.) is preserved in the cuneiform inscriptions and may be thus summarised. Sargon's mother was a princess, his father a man unknown. When he was born in a city on the banks of the Euphrates the mother placed her child in a reed basket which was water-proofed with bitumen and committed it to the stream. Akki, a humble water-carrier, saw the floating basket, carried the infant home, and reared the boy as his own and taught him the art of gardening. From this position in some mode

\* The complete translation is given by Professor le Page Renouf in *Lectures on the Past*, vol. 1, first series. See also chapter v of *Witness of Assyria*.

† This date is named in C. G. Montefiore's *Hilbert Lectures on the Ancient Hebrew Religion*, chapter 1.

unexplained in the legend, Sargon rose to the throne itself, and conducted campaigns against the mountain races, his warriors riding in brazen chariots. With this tradition we are naturally led to compare that of Romulus, the founder of Rome whose mother was a king's daughter and who was exposed in a boat on the Tiber found by a herdsman, nurtured by the herdsman's wife Acca, and eventually reached the chieftainship of the country. The infant god Dionysus was laid in an ark and cast into the sea and of Cyrus of Persia it was told that though the son of a princess, he was brought up by a herdsman, afterwards becoming king of Persia\*. There is no reason why we should treat the career of Moses as historical except that he may have had a share in moulding a new doctrine of Yahveh and in formulating some kind of moral code. He is said to have lived forty years as a shepherd on the skirts of Mount Sinai where he dwelt with a Kenite priest Jethro also called a Midianite. It has been supposed that from the Kenites Moses may have derived his conceptions of their tribal god, Yahveh or that both the Israelites and Kenites living in close neighbourhood struck out the first rude ideas of this deity of the mountains. Certainly it is worthy of remark that centuries afterwards the Rechabites or Kenites were distinguished for their fidelity to the service of Yahveh and joined with zealous King Jehu in spilling the blood of the prophets of Baal. Even before the Exodus Moses is said to have looked upon Horeb, or Sinai as the mountain of the Elohîm—the God. From its precipitous heights Yahveh flung his purple lightning and from its summit he revealed his law, and the legend may be reliable so far as it points to this region as the original home of the worship of Yahveh by Hebrew and Kenite shepherds. In the ancient song of Deborah and Barak (about 1100 B.C.) Yahveh is described as rallying from the land of Edon and convulsing the rocks of Sinai. Here too the prophet Elijah fled in despair to seek consolation from the mountain-god.

The name of the deity written in primitive Hebrew was

\* Sayce & Hibbert Lectures on Babylonian Religion lect. I. Records of the Past vol. 1 first series. An introductory note to the latter translation gives Sargon's date as 1500 or 1600 B.C. but subsequent research has shown this to be incorrect.

composed of the holy tetragrammaton or four letters usually given as JHWH, the true connecting vowels being unknown. St. Jerome gives the names as *Yahw*. The common rendering is *Jehovah*. From the mode in which it is written by Assyrian scribes when it forms part of a king's name (*Jehu* being represented as *Yahu-a*, *Hezekiah* as *Haziqa yahu*, etc.) it is conjectured that the olden pronunciation was *Yahuh*. It is curious that the form *Iao* was thought by the Greeks to be of Assyrian origin. The meaning is doubtful. *Yahveh* may signify the Shatterer or more innocently He that is or I am. From the book of Exodus it would appear as if the name were first made known to Moses in the desert. Yet the Genesis narratives speak of ancestral men as calling on the name of *Yahveh*, building altars to *Yahveh*, keeping *Yahveh's* way, and the like.

The *Yahveh* whom Moses may have taught the Hebrews to venerate was but a chief among the gods. Other gods were recognised. The worship of *Yahveh* was not a monotheism—*i.e.* belief in one only god—but a monolatry—*i.e.*, adoration of one deity above all others.

With his primitive theology, Moses may have joined certain ethical doctrines. After ages ascribed to him the Ten Words or Decalogue. Something of his temper and art of government may be reflected in the Book of the Covenant (Exodus chapters xxi–xxiii), the code which regulates domestic slavery, exacts eye for eye and tooth for tooth, dooms witches to death, and with a simple generosity forbids the ill treatment of orphan or widow, and will not permit the retention after sun-down of a poor man's raiment in pledge. Such Torah or teaching he delivered through the mouthpiece of a priest or practically enforced as he sat at his tent-door judging, but even the rude clansmen who appealed to him and to *Yahveh*.\*

Of the Exodus it would be useless to speak in detail. Much of the story is pure miracle; none of it is clearly corroborated by evidence from Egyptian monuments. M. Naville has carried on excavations in eastern Egypt and

\* Stadel's "Geschichte" part 1, books 2 and vii; W. von Soden's "Geschichte" part 1, book 2. M. Naville's "Revue Archéologique," 1890, p. 10. W. von Soden's "Geschichte" part 1, book 2. M. Naville's "Revue Archéologique," 1890, p. 10. W. von Soden's "Geschichte" part 1, book 2. M. Naville's "Revue Archéologique," 1890, p. 10.

lighted on the ruins of a brick built town, which he calls the "Store city of Pithom" erected by the Israelites, and he claims to have traced the march of the Hebrews past Migdol to a spot between Lake Timsah and the Bitter Lakes where a shallow arm of the sea formerly extended and where, pursued by the rumbling chariots of Pharaoh, the fugitives waded across to the opposite shore. These researches, however, do not take us far and do not remove the difficulties which give an unhistoric air to the Biblical account.

Perplexing also is the question as to how much the new born Hebrew religion was influenced by that of Egypt. Not much say some and they point to the striking fact that whereas the Egyptian faith was based on the doctrine of the soul's immortality no such belief existed among the Hebrews, who are alleged to have resided in the Nile valley for a long period. A vast deal affirms Mr Gerald Massey on the other hand and he accumulates a huge mass of supposed similarities between the two religions. Thus he finds an Egyptian word *Saba* = consolation or rest, pointing to the Hebrew *Sabbath*. In Moses and Joshua he sees reproduced two lion gods of Egypt. The *Elohim* (God or gods) of Genesis he regards as a Jewish form of the seven spirits of the stars of the Great Bear which Egypt venerated. The legends of the Wilderness are borrowed he contends from suggestions in the Egyptian Book of the Dead for example a passage in which the travelling soul is made to invoke the Serpent of the Sun with head of smoke is believed to lead up to the myth of the fiery vipers which fatally bit the children of Israel. We pause dubiously before such comparisons. They appear too laboured and too remote.

But there were undoubted likenesses between Egyptian and Hebrew ritual though how the likenesses came about it would be hard to explain. Specially deserving remark was the *shrine* which figured frequently in Egyptian ceremonial and which sheltered the images of the gods. It took the form of a canopy or of a boat which was carried by means of staves on the shoulders of the priests. In some sacred boats were placed winged figures partially concealed by a veil from the vulgar gaze. The whole apparatus reminds us of the Hebrew ark with its winged

cherubim. Kings and priests were *anointed* with oil. *Incense* was thrown into bronze censers, and consumed in honour of the deities. As to *sacrifice*, there was a certain resemblance in the customs of the two peoples; but the parallel is not closely detailed. The Egyptians slew red oxen, but not heifers; while the Jews sacrificed red heifers. By the Egyptians blood was poured over the altar; by the Jews, around it. Both nations offered birds. Of rural produce the Jews gave flour, wine, and oil; the Egyptians added milk, honey, ointment, flowers, fruit, and vegetables. The adoration paid to the golden calf may have been imitated from the worship of Mnevis, the sacred ox of Heliopolis, or the calves of Hathor. Renan deems it as certain that the Levites were, in the first instance, men of Egyptian origin, each being attached to a special family, and, in return for his maintenance, carrying on the rites of domestic worship; and he gives the meaning of *levi* as an adherent, an adjunct to the tribe, an alien. In any case, the Levites performed only the grosser functions of the popular religion, such as divination, and were not moral teachers. The oracular machinery was the *Urim* and *Thummim*, which may have been dice thrown on a draught or backgammon board (Egyptian judges wore such boards suspended from the neck and relieved with precious stones), or they may refer to the winged globe which is so often met with in Egyptian art. To this globe, or disc, were fastened two *uræi*, or figures of asps, and, by a hidden spring, the priest could move the one or the other to indicate Yes or No in answer to inquirers of the divine oracle. Such a contrivance may have been affixed to the breast-plates of Jewish priests. The subject, however, is one of great obscurity; and we shall recur to it presently in another connection.\*

The unleavened bread of the Hebrew passover (Mazzoth) resembles the unleavened cakes (Mest) which the Egyptians offered to the god, Osiris at the beginning of each year.†

\* Massey's "Book of the Beginnings," volume II; Renan's "History of the People of Israel," book II, chapter XI; book II., chapter VI.; Wilkinson's "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians," chapter XV.

† "Bible Folk-lore," chapter IV.

mind that the West-Jordan land was already fairly well populated by intelligent and civilised races we are compelled to disbelieve the Hebrew accounts of a triumphant entry under Joshua, a seven years' war, and a partition of Palestine among the twelve tribes. The deeds of Joshua are products of a late tradition. He is, for instance, represented as enslaving the Gibeonites, and making them wood-hewers and water-carriers (Joshua ix.), whereas in another narrative (2 Samuel xxi.) we find them sufficiently independent to be treated by David with respect; for, after consultation with them, he hands over to them the seven sons of Saul as an atonement for the ill-treatment they had suffered from that king. How gradual and how hesitating was the actual process of settlement may be conjectured from the first chapter of Judges, where we perceive the Israelites continually being checked by the Canaanites. Sometimes, as in the case of the children of Dan, the newcomers had to content themselves with occupying the wooded hills, the valleys being held by Amorites who resolutely shut out the Hebrew immigrants (Judges i. 34). Nor did Canaanite modes of religion yield any more readily than the Canaanites themselves. The Beni-Israel, while tending towards a conviction that Yahveh was above all other deities, largely followed the forms of worship practised by their neighbours \*

In their nomad condition each tribe, following the lead of its chieftain, could take up their tents and escape from a threatened attack; and inter tribal union was not desired and not needed. But now the Hebrew peasants dwelt in villages and towns, were more exposed to assault, and felt the necessity for drawing together. In this way the clans of Issachar, Naphtali, Zebulun, and Manasseh joined their forces, and, at the call of the prophetess Deborah, flung themselves against the chariots of Sisera. The song of Deborah and Barak (probably the oldest fragment of Hebrew Scripture)† raises a jubilant shout of victory, and praises the treacherous Kenite woman who smilingly gave food and shelter to the fallen chief, and hammered a spike through his temples as he slept. The glory is given to Yahveh. The lord of Sinai has fought for his people, and is angry

\* Stade's "Geschichte," part I., book II.

† Stade, part I., book II.; Montefiore's *Hibbert Lectures*, chap. I.



with those tribes who did not come to his and their kinsmen's help (*Judges* i. 13)

How unsettled was the condition of Israel both politically and spiritually, is seen in the story of Jerubbaal. Wild hordes from the southern desert had swarmed into the very centre of the land. The Israelites cowered among the hollows and ravines of the hill country. It was then that Jerubbaal, a young farmer of Manasseh, was excited by a vision of Yahveh under the form of his Maleak, or angel. Believing that to false religion were traceable all the evils which Israel suffered from, Jerubbaal flung down the altar of Baal and the phallic Ashera which flanked it. When in the name of Yahveh, he attacked the invaders and hunted them back to their deserts, the fame of the god of Sinai was spread abroad. Yet Gideon's (Jerubbaal's) worship of Yahveh was a very different thing from the religion of Isaiah. To the multitude it appealed chiefly through the gleaming image of gold which Gideon set up as an oracle.\* And this grossness of religious conception is terribly evident in the episode of Jephthah. Among the hills of Gilead east of Jordan he had been chief of a band of outlaws. To him the Israelites of Gilead prayed for protection against the Ammonites. Filled with the spirit of Yahveh and vowing to sacrifice the creature that greeted his return, Jephthah sallied out and put the enemy to flight. And for many years the damsels of Israel sang dirges in memory of the maiden whose blood purchased the favour of Yahveh for an oppressed people.

The last chapters of the book of *Judges* recount scenes in the history of the Danites, a spirited little tribe which for a long time fought for existence against its Philistine neighbours, but was at length compelled to emigrate northwards. Out of the traditions of Danite heroism sprang the figure of Samson, whose very name (little sun) marks him a solar dem-god. Among the Danite towns was Beth Shemesh (or Bethsemes—that is the dwelling place of the sun) where, perhaps, sun worship was carried on. Like the hero Gilgamesh of Assyrian legend and Herakles of Greek mytho-

\* The Bible calls it an "ephod," an obscure term which may have been applied both to an image and to the armless coat worn by priests.

token of Yahveh's presence. When the need for a king made itself felt, Samuel encouraged the popular demand, and poured the oil of consecration on the head of stalwart Saul. There is some confusion in the account of the rise of Hebrew royalty. It looks as if some later writer, opposed to the government of Israel by kings, and displeased with the readiness of Samuel in falling in with the new order of things, has made the prophet object to the people's wishes, and foretell in phony language the evils of kingship (1 Sam viii). It is noteworthy that Saul's sons were named after various gods—Melchishua after Moloch, Jonathan after Yahveh, Ishbaal after Baal. His recourse to Urim and Thummim and to the witch's arts, his convulsions in the presence of the "prophets," his horror at the people eating flesh not yet depleted of the blood are sufficient to indicate the low condition of his religious ideas, and Israel resembled its king. The spirit of the age is also bodied forth in the fierce and exultant Song of Deborah which is supposed to have been now first committed to writing.

Saul was followed by the romantic figure of David. Fair-skinned, skilful with harp or sling, attractive in manner, easily gaining the admiration of a king's son, a peasant woman (Abigail), a crowd of outlaws, or the populace who gathered round the home-coming warriors, this Bethlehemite made his way to the throne by both suasion and force. He was a friend to priests and prophets, consulting their divinations with the ephod, listening to their counsel and rebukes, and elevating to the hill of Zion the ark which was to prove so fruitful a source of wealth and honour to the priesthood. Bloodthirsty in his wars (he put his enemies under the saw) and revengeful even on his dying bed, he was yet capable of a certain chivalry in sparing Saul's life, and of wild and stirring poetry, which he expressed in elegies on the deaths of Saul, Jonathan and Abner. To this truculent warrior-poet tradition afterwards ascribed the composition of many of the Psalms, but no solid evidence that he wrote them is forthcoming. That David's loyalty to Yahveh was imperfect is shown by one of his sons being named Eliada or Baliaada (1 Chron vii 7) and by the presence in his house of barbaric teraphim, one of which Michal used to simulate her sick husband.

Solomon threw open a wider horizon to the Hebrews. He married an Egyptian princess; traded with remote countries in such unfamiliar produce as scented sandal-wood, ivory, monkeys, peacocks; interested himself in horse-breeding; and, with the aid of Tyrian artists, erected richly adorned buildings at Jerusalem. In such peaceful pursuits he exhibited a shrewdness and sense which posterity magnified into oracular wisdom and a terse proverbial philosophy. The story of his lapse, in old age, to the worship of Chemosh, Astarte, and Moloch makes us suspect that his construction of a temple as the abode of Yahvch was more a political action than the expression of personal devotion to the lord of Sinai. It was singular that this sanctuary, raised for Yahvch's glory, should have been so often used by later monarchs for the worship of other gods. The temple was not unlike the sacred buildings of Egypt, but was more especially modelled on the Bethels of Phœnicia. After its demolition the prophet Ezekiel idealised his youthful memories of its architecture, and drew with minute detail a picture of its restoration. On a square plateau he shows us a quadrangle, surrounded by lines of flat-roofed dwellings for attendants. In the centre of this area lies a group of structures which make up the temple itself, the most conspicuous feature of which is a lofty tower surmounted by a double turret. The entrance gate is approached by steps, and flanked by the isolated bronze columns, Jachin and Boaz. The area in front of the tower encloses the great altar, the brazen sea, etc. Behind the tower stands the Holy of Holies, closed to the profane gaze.\* Of the decorated woodwork in cypress and olive and cedar, of the curtains looped by golden cords, of the inner gilded chapel, where great bull-headed cherubs spread their wings over the ark, we must be content with forming only a vague mental outline. Jewish and Christian fancy has enlarged the temple to a magnificence of dimensions which it was far from possessing. Its length was 90 ft., breadth 30 ft., height 45 ft.†

\* A graphic representation of Ezekiel's temple, and many other fine illustrations (some drawn from actual Phœnician remains), are given in an elaborate chapter on the temple in Perrot and Chipiez's "Ancient Art in Sardinia, Judæa," etc., vol. I.

† "Witness of Assyria," chapter ix.

While the guild of priests were increasing in numbers and importance, the lay element was not yet excluded from the sacred service as is evident from the fact that three times a year Solomon offered sacrifice on the altar, and burnt incense before Yahveh (1 Kings ix 25).

In passing note should be taken of Professor Sayce's theory that the names of the first three kings of Israel are popular titles, and not true birth names. Saul, he says, means "the demanded one," an epithet which fits in with his call to the throne. David is "the beloved one." The name which is not borne by any other character in the Old Testament is allied to Dodo (Dodai Dodavah, Judges x. 1 2 Sam xxiii 9 24, 2 Chron xx. 37) and to Dido the goddess who was coupled with the Phœnician sun god Adonis. In Isaiah v. 1 God is referred to as my beloved = Dodi, or David, and possibly, the phrase "city of David" is applied to Jerusalem as being not the city built by David, but the city of the beloved Yahveh. The king's true name was probably El Hanan, for it was El Hanan who according to one account, slew Goliath (2 Sam xxi 19). The book of Samuel (xii 24) plainly states that Solomon's proper name was Jedidiah = beloved of Yahveh. Solomon was a popular nickname.\*

The centralisation of the Yahveh cultus in the Judæan temple displeased a large portion of the Hebrew nation. When a young Ephraimite Jeroboam, gave voice to the tribesmen's desire for a relief from burdensome taxes, religious discontent probably helped on the revolution that followed. Israel parted from the southern kingdom, but still rendered fidelity to Yahveh whom Jeroboam represented by the two gold calves at Dan and Bethel. Shiloh and Mount Tabor, ancient sanctuaries, were also included in the northern kingdom. A priestly order was created and a yearly festival established. On the other hand the Yahveh worship of Judæa was still mingled with much grossness, it still retained its phallic Asheras and its loath

\* Modern Review " 1884

† It is possible that these calf or bull images were imitated from the bull-headed figure of Moloch (horns were used to beoken A tart). There would thus be an easy transition from the Moloch of old Canaan to the Yahveh of the Hebrews. See Huenen's "Religion of Israel" chapter 11.

some *Ardesim* (1 Kings xiv 22-24) The kings Asa and Jehoshaphat tried their hands at reform but the old manners were tenacious Jehoshaphat again was none too pure a Yahvist He allied himself with Ahab the servant of Baal and brought about the marriage of his son with Athaliah the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel It is remarkable that a daughter of King Ahab should be named after Yahveh (Athaliah Yahweh is strong) since the story of the prophet Elijah would lead us to imagine Ahab was exclusively a worshipper of Baal The fact that queen Athaliah was able to maintain a temple to Baal in Jerusalem itself shows how long drawn must have been the struggle of the Yahvich creed for existence and supremacy in Judæa In the northern kingdom Yahveh was represented in Ahab's time by Elijah (that strange hero whose fiery chariot makes us suspect a lurking sun myth\*) and by the bold tongued Micaiah the son of Imlah In an excess of zeal for Yahveh's honour Jehu entrapped the priests of Baal into a temple and sent in a band of ruthless soldiery, who allowed none of the hapless Baalites to leave the house alive In this massacre the Kenites assisted they had not forgotten their ancestral faith (see p 32) Years afterwards however we find the tell tale Ashera still undisturbed in the city of Samaria (2 Kings xiii 6) and one king after another is condemned by the Yahvistic historian as perpetuating the sin of Jeroboam—the Baal worship or Yahveh worship adulterated with veneration of images and phallic rites The very last king of Israel Hoshea is characterised as less inclined to Baal's sin than his predecessors, and yet a severe homily in the second book of Kings (chapter xvi) declares the fall of Samaria and the captivity of the northern tribes to be a judgment for neglect of Yahveh Meanwhile the religion of Yahveh was strengthening itself in Judæa The way was preparing for the great prophets and their higher conceptions of God and morality Not long after the fall of Samaria King Hezekiah was piously exerting himself in Jerusalem to remove the vestiges of the older faith and ritual Judah and its king were assiduously removing high places breaking images cutting down groves

\* The idea of the sun myth as applied to Elijah's worked out in Bible Folklore chap vi

cleansing the temple, and purging their minds of some of the barbaric beliefs of their forefathers.\*

The fall of Samaria reminds us of the augmenting influence of Assyria upon the fortunes of the Hebrews. Extant cuneiform inscriptions first allude to the Israelitish kingdom as the land of the house of Omri (Ahab's father) to Samaria as Samarina, and to Ahab as Aha-abbu Sir-lai—i.e. Ahab of Israel. Ahab was present with a contingent of Israelite soldiers at the battle of Karkar (between the Orontes and the Euphrates) when an allied army of Syrians, Arabs, etc. were beaten by the Syrian forces of Shalmaneser II (853 B.C.). This great conflict is not mentioned in the Bible. On the black obelisk of Shalmaneser (847 B.C.) are sculptured Jewish vassals offering tribute to the Assyrian monarch in the name of Jehu †. The wars of Tiglath-Pileser against Syria and Palestine are recounted in the Assyrian histories. The annals of King Sargon II tell how Samaria fell and the Assyrian victors carried off not ten tribes as tradition reported but 27,280 Israelite captives. The same potent Sargon crushed the revolt of Hezekiah's ally Merodach-Baladan the King of Babylon and overran Judæa. Another wave of Assyrian conquest in the reign of Sennacherib rolled up to the very walls of Jerusalem and the humbled Jewish king after losing many cities and much land was compelled to send to Nineveh a tribute of gold, gems, ivory, musicians and dancers. Sennacherib afterwards conducted several great campaigns against Babylon, Armenia and Elam—exploits which attest his unabated military strength and are sufficient to expose the worthlessness of the Hebrew legend of the destruction of Sennacherib's army ‡.

With Assyria's great rival Egypt, Israel came less in

\* The period covered by this section is dealt with in Kuenen's "Religion of Israel" chapter v. Penan's "History of the People of Israel" books 10 and 11 and Sade's "Geschichte" part 1, books 11 to 17 and 18.

† Schrader's "Cuneiform Inscriptions." The obelisk is in the British Museum.

‡ Sayce's "Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments" chapter v. "Wonders of Assyria" chapters x, xi, xii. (Smith's "History of Sennacherib" (cuneiform records, with interlinear translations) Schrader's "Cuneiform Inscriptions").

contact. On the walls of the great Karnak temple a colossal figure of Sheshonk (Shishak) towers up weapon in hand over a crowded list of conquered towns both in Judæa and Israel. Among these the name of Jerusalem has not yet been positively deciphered as the Hebrew writings would lead us to expect (1 Kings xiv 25) \*. For some years at a later period Egypt fell under the rule of the Assyrians who destroyed the splendid city of Thebes (about B.C. 665).

Among modern discoveries during the excavation of subterranean Jerusalem an inscription found on a stone tablet in a water tunnel leading to the pool of Siloam is the oldest example of the Hebrew language. It tells of two parties of workmen who hollowed out the rock in opposite directions till they met. The date is not given, but the tunnel is supposed to be referred to by Isaiah when he mentions the soft flowing waters of Siloam (viii 6) †.

*The Moabite Stone*—Not long after the death of Ahab a pillar of black basalt was set up among the hills east of the Dead Sea. It was about 3 ft 5 in high and 1 ft 9 in wide and deep. Engraved upon it with a sharp tool were some thirty-four lines of Phœnician alphabetic characters and in the Hebrew language. No more ancient specimen of Hebrew writing is known. The stone now stands, though in a broken condition in the Louvre at Paris having been discovered by the missionary Klein in 1868. The inscription recounts in the name of Mesha King of Moab his successful rebellion against Ahab. Chemosh the god of Moab had been displeased with his people hence the nation's fall. But Chemosh restored his favour the Moabites destroyed certain Israelite cities and slew the inhabitants before the eyes of Chemosh and Yahveh's altars were overturned. Mesha busied himself in building and rebuilding forts and cities. Israelite prisoners were employed in constructing cisterns and reservoirs for the Moabite victors. In each expedition it was Chemosh who said Go fight this or that stronghold and to Chemosh this inscribed

\* Sayce's *Fresh Light* chapter vi. Wines of Assyria chapter x.

† Sayce's *Fresh Light* chapter. Sale gives a good reproduction from a photograph.

pillar was raised in gratitude, just as Samuel erected a stone at Mizpeh in honour of Yahveh \*

7 Chronology of the Kings.—While the present work concerns the history of religion as distinct from purely political matters great convenience will be found in having readily at hand an approximate chronology of the Hebrew kings. The following table has been compiled by Hamphausen,† a scholar who has given special attention to the subject —

Saul	1037 1018 B.C.
David (Judah)	1017 1010
David (alone)	1010-978
Solomon	978-938.

JUDAH		ISRAEL	
Rehoboam	93 - 921	Jeroboam I	937-916
Abijah	920-918	Nadab	915-914
Asa	917-877	Baasha	914-891
		Elah	891-890
		Zimri	890
		Omeri	890-879
Jehoshaphat	876-852	Ahab	878-857
Jehoram	851-844	Ahaziah	856-855
Ahaziah	843	Joram	854-843
Uzziah	842-837	Jehu	842-815
Jehoash	836-797	Jehoahaz	814-798
Amaziah	796-756	Joash	797-782
Azariah (Uzziah)	777-751	Jeroboam II	781-741
		Shallum	741
Jotham (regent)	750-736	Menahem	740-738
(king)	735	Pekahiah	737-736
Ahaz	734-715	Pekah	736-730
Hezekiah	714-680	Hoshea	730-722
Manasseh	685-641	<i>Fall of Samaria</i>	722
Amon	640-639		
Josiah	638-608		
Jehoiakim	607-597		
Jechoniah			
(Jehoiachin)	597		
Zedekiah	596-586		

\* "Witness of Assyria" chapter xi. Smend and Socin's *De Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab* with large lithographed reproduction of the stone.

† "Chronologie der hebraischen Könige" p. 32.



The whole of a year in which a king died was reckoned as pertaining to his reign though his successor may have been king during the greater part of it.

These figures must be taken for what they are worth. They are not, unfortunately, supported by any Hebrew monumental inscriptions. From the time of Ahab onwards occasional references to the Hebrews occur in Assyrian records. Thus Ahab's death took place 85 B.C. two years after the battle of Karkar which the Assyrian history places at 854 B.C. It will be seen that Kamphausen's table names 857 as the last year of Ahab's reign.

**8 The Religion of Israel before the Great Prophets —** By the Great Prophets is here meant the series of teachers beginning with Amos Hosea Isaiah and Micah who gave expression to the new spirit manifested by Hebrew religion in the eighth century B.C. It will be profitable to review the leading features of the antique faith and worship from which were slowly evolved the wonderful visions and intense poetry of the later centuries before Christianity.

Jewish life during the period of the Judges and Early Kings was simple rustic and adorned by few arts. Occupation was largely agricultural though certain peasants like Nabal the farmer of Mount Carmel could prosper by the rearing of sheep. And this very history of Nabal suffices to remind us of the perils which beset the Hebrew countryman's existence and property for Nabal's shepherds were glad of the protection from brigands which was afforded them by the sentinels which David posted round their pastures. The story of David's encounters with a lion and a bear point to other dangers to which shepherd life was exposed. As already mentioned the Kenites plied the hammer of the smithy for their Jewish neighbours. Earthen vessels were in common use. Israel lived then in the bronze age. Goliath was clad in burnished bronze from the Syrians David is said to have plundered large supplies of the same metal, and it figured conspicuously in the Temple. Industrial art was ill developed only such comparatively crude operations as fulling and pottery making being practised. Houses were primitive. Women daily ground their barley meal with hand mills. Flax was dried upon the roof top. Plantations yielded olives grapes and figs.

Slavery was maintained in several forms. The comely woman whom the Jewish warrior espied among the captives after a siege or battle he might lead home with him to be his wife. The poor debtor might pay his debt by selling himself into the creditor's bondage. Sons and daughters might be sold by needy parents. Housebreakers who could not restore stolen property had to pay forfeit with their freedom. The bondman's children remained in domestic slavery, even though the father at the end of six years, might recover his liberty. But a later custom softened the harshness of the servitude, and allowed both parent and children to go free together (Lev. xxv).

Marriage was polygamous. Probably the number of wives and concubines depended on a man's income. The tenth commandment enumerates the wife as an item in a man's property, she is classed with house, ox, and ass. The Virtuous Woman whose praises are sung in the final chapter of the book of Proverbs is a tireless servant of the household. Public stoning to death was the punishment for an adulteress. A husband could divorce the wife by writing a document of dismissal. By the law of the Levirate (Latin, *Levir*—Husband's brother) the childless widow was bound to marry her husband's brother\*. As among the Hindus, the object of this usage is to raise up children to perform the rites due to the spirits of the dead (manes) the Hebrew Levirate may point back to an ancient worship of ancestors.†

The soul was considered to be immanent in the blood or, according to another conception was identical with the breath. *Nephesh* signified both soul and wind. The heart was the seat of thought and emotion. It was in the heart one of the psalmists said that the fool denied God. Of the Hebrew Sheol and its parallelism with the Chaldean underworld mention has already been made (p. 22). The spirits of the dead could be recalled by the sorcerer into the presence of the living. Saul bowed before the ghost of Samuel as before the gods (Elohim). Miserable were the

\* The same custom is followed by the New Caledonians, Chippewy Indians, Ojibwas, and Mahans and is commanded in the Code of Manu.

† Letourneau's Evolution of Marriage see index under 'Hebrews.'

souls of the unburi'd Doleful also was the fate of the shades of the uncircumcised

Of Yahveh the general characteristics may be summarised No goddess sat at his side He was a solitary fire and thunder god In a burning bush he sometimes resided By a pillar of fire he led His flames devoured rebels against his authority or consumed agreeable sacrifices \* To him Mount Sinai is hallowed The man or beast that passed the holy fence must die Only by peculiar grace were seventy elders permitted to climb the peak and see Yahveh seated on the throne of the blue heaven (Ex xxiv 10) though in a passage by a later hand (Ex xxxii 21-23) the divinity glided by Moses and allowed only a glimpse of his back Above Yahveh's head hovered six winged seraphs When he journeyed across cloudland he rode upon swift cherubs His *Mitteth* or angel was a kind of double or human incarnation The Maleak ate of Abraham's meat wrestled with Jacob and barred the passage of Balaam's ass Yahveh could see and smell his heart could grieve, his hand and arm gesticulated He blessed households and dropped fitness on the soil and made the righteous flourish With fury he fell upon the father of an uncircumcised child wasted Egypt with plagues overshadowed Jerusalem with pestilence slew in the silence of night a sleeping army of Assyrians mildewed the crops and blighted the vines created ill will between brethren (Judges ix. 23) stirred up adversaries against kings, and put lying spirits in the mouths of prophets He was a man of war and his wars are recorded in a book (Num xvi 14) From heaven he beheld the children of men or he could descend to brood over the ark between the cherubs Perhaps the cherubs themselves bull-like in form were revered as emblems of Yahveh like the calves at Dan and Bethel or the Phœnician bull (Baal) and cow (Ashtart) Whether the brazen serpent to which the Israelites burnt incense (2 Kings xvii 4) was adored as an image of Yahveh is not clear but it is conceivable that

\* I am informed that in Jewish synagogues a perpetually burning lamp is suspended before the doors of the ark which contains the scrolls of the law

† F. Lenormant confidently traces the origin of the Biblical cherub to Assyria where the winged bull were guardians of the gates of palaces and temples The Beginning of History chapter i.

the legend of the healing serpent of Moses was intended to reconcile the serpent worship with more elevated notions of Yahveh's character

Other vestiges of very primitive religion are found in connection with mountains, stones, wells and trees. On Carmel's slopes Baal was honoured. To Tabor flocked the men of Issachar in order to offer sacrifice. Fugitive David climbed Mount Olivet and worshipped God from the summit. From Gerizim were shouted the benedictions of Yahveh upon the faithful. From Ebal were thundered curses upon idolatry, lust and false dealing. Upon a high place God met Balaam and gave him revelations. Of sacred stones examples are found in the boulder which Jacob anointed, the Stone of Witness at which Laban and Jacob swore amity, the Ebenezer which Samuel raised in token of victory, and the stone at which rebellious Adonijah slew sheep and fat cattle. At the holy fountain of Beer Lahai Roi the Lord's angel showed himself to the runaway Hagar. Abraham did homage to Yahveh at the seven wells of Beersheba. Tree worship is suggested by the oak of Shechem where Jacob buried his people's heathenish jewelry, and Rehoborn was acclaimed king, the oak under which Joshua reared the covenant stone (*Josh xxii 26*) and the oak at which the Maleak appeared to Jerubbaal (*See also p 17*)

Yahveh's communications to men were made through dreams, oracles and prophets. To King Abimelech God appeared in a dream and conversed with him on the subject of taking Sarah as his wife, and long afterwards, he manifested himself to slumbering Solomon and promised him wisdom and wealth. The nature of the oracle is not easy to determine. The Urim and Thummim as previously remarked may have been dice thrown on a chequered board, or a winged disc. This board, or disc, was hung from the neck over a coat or ephod, and the term 'ephod' itself was applied to the divining apparatus. "Bring hither the ephod" orders David to the priest Abiathar when he desires to ask Yahveh concerning the movements of his enemies. It has been conjectured that the ephod may sometimes have been an image. Certain small figures, perhaps ancestral gods, were associated with the oracular ephod. Such images Rachel stole from her father's house.

(Gen xxi 19) The Ephraimite Micah was provided with a complete divining furniture— Micah had an house of gods and made an ephod and teraphim (Judges vii 5) and the prophet Hosea foretells a day when Israel shall be without an ephod and without teraphim (iii 5) \* We must be content with this incomplete information. It would seem as if the subject was perplexing to the later Jews. The Levitical law does not explain the Urim and Thummim and the High Priest's breast plate was merely retained as a venerable relic of the superstition of forefathers \*.

The earlier prophets resembled shamans. They gathered in schools and marched in noisy procession harp and pipe in hand and thrilled with a frenzy which sometimes infected the bystanders (1 Sam x 5 xiv 20-24). We are reminded of the swooning devotees of the god Dionysus the dshavelled Corybantes of Thrygia and the dancing dervishes of Moslem lands. Elisha needed the stimulus of music before he could declare Yahveh's will. The Hebrew prophet like an African or Redskin rain maker could draw showers from the sky. Even the man who had lost his asses would come to Samuel proffer a small coin and ask for tidings of the strayed beasts. Yet more barbaric was the presence of the Keshim or masculine prostitutes in certain temples. Only after much earnest effort did the progressive spirit of Judaism drive out their polluted sodomy (1 Kings xiv 24 xvi 12 xxii 46 2 Kings xviii 7). Another servile but not vicious class were the Nethinim they were aliens who cut wood and drew water for the sacrificing priests and though said to have been enslaved by Joshua in order to tend Yahveh's altar, were probably pressed into this service by the kings of after times. The priests (Kohanim in Arabic this word means soothsayers) slowly developed from sorcerers into offerers of sacrifice and incense and propitiators between God and man. They looked back upon Moses as their spiritual founder. It was he who made atonement for the sin of the worshippers of the golden calf (Ex xxx 30) and who afterwards delegated the priestly office to his brother Aaron. Originally each head of a family burnt his own sacrifices, as did

\* Kennan's "History of the People of Israel" book I. chapter v.

Abraham, or Gideon or Manoah, the father of Samson. When the Hebrew ark was drawn back by the king from the Philistine country, the rejoicing peasants of Beth-Shean offered sacrifice before the approach of the Levites. But, as sanctuaries were established for public worship, the priests multiplied, and groups of them dwelt at Shiloh, Nob, and other places. Their duties and privileges were passed from father to son, as in the case of Eli, though there appears to have been no obstacle to the adoption of Samuel an Ephraimite child, into His service. Samuel was allowed to sleep under the very roof which sheltered the ark—a fact which reveals the simplicity of Hebrew religious custom, as compared with the later code of rigid sacerdotalism. Saul and David sacrificed with their own hands, and Solomon, after praying with outstretched hands at the dedication of the Temple, blessed the multitude in a loud voice. The same king deposed one family from their priestly standing and raised another, that of Zadok, in their place. In course of time these ministrants banded themselves more and more closely into a tribe which possessed no allotted province, but received dues from the people at large. As the Temple-system gained sanctity and authority, a special caste of priests rose above the common herd of Levites. It is possible that many of the priests of the old "high places" became the menials of the more aristocratic priests of Yahveh. At one time the phrase ran, "the priests the Levites" (Josh iii 3) but a line of cleavage showed itself, and priest and Levite came to mean two different religious orders\*. The clergy were at first supplied with food from the sacrifices (Deut. xviii 1), and when a holy feast was celebrated the Levites were piously invited to the jovial gathering (Deut. xii. 12-19). The primitive tithes were not devoted to the priestly guild, they were choice pickings of the rural produce which worshippers brought to the sanctuaries, and there ate before the presence of Yahveh (Deut. xiv 22, 23). In after years the priests claimed and obtained the tithes, just as they claimed forty-eight special cities (Josh xxi) though there is no evidence that these cities were inhabited by Levites, and some of them, such as

\* J. Wellhausen's *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* chap. iv

quently Sabbaths and feasts of the new moon were observed (1 Sam x 6, Amos viii 5) Samuel's father visited the sanctuary at Shiloh but once a year. As time wore on the custom of keeping three great public festivals a year was kept, at first loosely, and gradually, with more fixedness. These were 1 The feast of Mazzoth or unleavened bread (see p 35) 2 The feast of the harvest first fruits 3 The feast of the complete ingathering of harvest (Ex xxiii 14 17) The passage just cited from Exodus belongs to what is one of the oldest documents (the Yahvist) of the Old Testament. Afterwards, the eating of the unleavened cakes was conjoined with the killing and sprinkling of the blood of the Passover lamb and the feast of ingathering became the feast of Tabernacles when the hilarious peasantry lived for a week in the open-air life of leafy arbours or booths. A search through the books of Judges Samuel, and Kings renders one aware of a remarkable absence of allusion to the feasts which later tradition attributed to the institution of Moses. To the people of Josiah's reign (about 641 B.C.) the celebration of the Passover seemed a novelty (2 Kings xxiii 21 23).

9 Genesis Legends.—We must here anticipate, for a moment the course of our history. The Hexateuch (Pentateuch and Book of Joshua) is the work of various hands. A considerable portion usually called by critics the *Priests' Code* was written during the Exile in Babylon and subsequently added to. About 621 B.C. the *Deuteronomy* manuscript was issued, and publicly announced to the people of Judah as the Book of the Law. If these documents (known as P and D) are removed we find a miscellany of narratives left, which has been termed the *Prophetic History*, because it appears to have gathered together and by means of certain inserted expressions made to harmonise though not very strictly with the spirit of the prophetic teaching of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. This Prophetic History seems to have been put together from older materials in the interval from 650 to 630 B.C. It can be separated into two main elements, which go back to the eighth century. One is called the *Elohistic* document (E) because the author uses the word Elohim to designate the deity. The other or *Yahvist* or *Jehovist* composition (J) may have been penned at the beginning of the eighth century—that is,

about the time of the kings Asa and Omri, its writer speaks of the deity as Yahveh though he uses the term Elohim when linked with another word in such phrases as 'your God' 'God of Israel' etc. All these constituents of the Hexateuch are recognised as distinct (1) By the use of peculiar words as Yahveh or Elohim and many others (2) By their literary style and method (3) By their choice of subject matter (4) By an occasional doubling of narratives as in the passage Genesis i 1 to ii 4 where the priestly story shows us the successive appearances of light sky land and water and vegetation sun moon and stars animals man and woman and the Yahvist passage Gen ii 4-25 where the order is vegetation man animals woman



and cities. His are also the tedious descriptions of tabernacle furniture and sacerdotal duties and vestments, the laws of various kinds of *taboo*, etc. He relates the consecration of Aaron and the blasting of Nadab and Abihu by divine fire for their insolent interference with the priestly office. P. uniformly uses the term "Elohim" for the deity until he comes to the revelation of the Burning Bush, where Yahveh proclaims his name to Moses.

All the Book of Leviticus belongs to the Priests' Code, except a series of chapters (xvii.-xxvii.) which are conveniently grouped under the title of "The Law of Holiness" (the reference letter is H). They were most likely written at the time of the exile in Babylon, and their language bears no small resemblance to that of the prophet Ezekiel. The laws summed up in H lay special emphasis upon the duty of holiness towards God. This or that beast is not to be eaten—the deformed man may not take part in religious ceremonial—just measures shall be observed by the merchant—the hoary head shall be honoured, etc., because "I am the Lord," "I am holy."\*

With this brief preface it will now be timely to compare the Biblical Genesis legends with those current among non-Jewish peoples.

*The Creation.*—Berosus, a native of Babylon, lived in the third century B.C., and wrote in Greek a history of his fatherland, of which only a few fragments survive. He tells of a primeval chaos of water and darkness, whence there sprang monsters half-bestial, half-human. Over these presided the goddess Thavath, whom the god Bel divided in two, one part becoming the earth, the other the sky. The monsters having vanished, Bel cut off his own head, and made men by mixing his blood with earth. In a variation of this account, Berosus says, that, when Bel spread out the firmament and darkness fled, all the creatures which could not bear the light died.

With this tradition agrees the old Akkadian legend inscribed on tablets found at Cutha, near Babylon, and dating more than 2000 B.C.; only the queen of the monsters is named Tiamat (the sea).

\* Excellent notes on the styles of J. L. and P., etc., will be found in Driver's "Introduction," chapter I.

In Sippara, not far from Cutha, an Akkadian tablet has been found which describes the time of chaos when neither tree nor city existed and all was sea, and how the god Merodach made dust for the land, and man, animals, plants, and cities.

Long afterwards the old myths were gathered up and woven into an epic of creation by an Assyrian writer, and this epic is the subject of the celebrated seven tablets, of which fragments were discovered by George Smith in 1876 in the library of King Assur ban pal (seventh century B.C.) The first tablet takes us back to the chaos from whose watery depths the gods arose, the second shows the gods in council discussing how to attack the chaos mother Tiamat, the third opens the battle of Merodach the sun god, against the demons, the fourth narrates the climax of the strife, and tells how the Merodach assails Tiamat with tempest and flood slays her with a swinging blow of his club stands on her corpse, and then having flayed the dragon transmutes her skin into the arching heavens the fifth describes the fixing of the stars and the course of the god of the ferry boat (sun) the setting up of the gates which guard the cosmos from the environing waters the building of the staircase from the abyss to the upper air, and the appointment of the moon as sentinel of the night, the sixth is lost the seventh sketches the creation of cattle and beasts and creeping things, and here the fragments fail us.\*

The earlier Chaldean myth bears some likeness to the Yahvist account especially in the moulding of man from the earth. The younger epic is sevenfold like the seven day history given by P in the first chapter of Genesis.

It is possible that the word rendered 'rib' in the Yahvist legend should be side. And P writes (Gen v 2) that both man and woman had the common name Adam. Was then, the first human being of Hebrew mythology a double sexed creature? It was so believed by the later Jews. Berosus numbers among the products of chaos a monster which combined the sexes. Plato revives this Asiatic fancy in his "Banquet" and depicts the man woman

\* G. Smith's "Chaldean Genesis." Sayce's Hibbert Lectures on Babylonian Religion lect. vi. Witness of Assyria chapter II.  
\* Records of the Past new series vol. i.

as a rotund animal, with eight limbs; the gods cut it in two, and left the divided sexes to seek each other by the attraction of love. And an old Parsee legend, preserved in the "*Bundahis*," makes man and woman grow, as two branches, from the stem of a kind of rhubarb plant.\*

*Eden and the Fall.*—Babylonian legend spoke of a sacred land of Edin (near the Persian gulf), where a great overshadowing tree cast its roots deep into the earth, and possessed a life-giving magic. This cedar, the cones of which had a healing influence, was perhaps afterwards blended with the palm in Assyrian portrayals of the holy tree. Dr. Tylor suggests that the cones seen in these sculptures were intended for clusters of palm-flowers; and some writers consider them as having a phallic intention. It may be that the fruit of the tree of knowledge which appears in the Yahvist story was also phallic; and this idea tallies with the curse of child-bearing, which is laid upon the woman who plucked the forbidden pleasure.

No Chaldean tradition of the Fall is discoverable in the tablets. The *Bundahis*, in the chapter just quoted, narrates that to the first man and woman the supreme Auharmazd said: "You are man; you are the ancestry of the world; and you are created perfect in devotion by me. Perform devotedly the duty of the law; think good thoughts; speak good words; do good deeds, and worship no demons." At first they revered Auharmazd as the creator; but afterwards, following corrupt impulses, they ascribed the origin of things to the Evil Spirit. That impious speech worked their ruin, and ultimately doomed their souls to hell. Barbaric and ignorant, they milked a goat with their mouths, and were taught by angels how to fetch fire from wood, and roast a sheep. They discarded their first garments of skins when they learned to weave cloth. At times they savagely fought each other. After fifty years sexual appetite developed. They devoured their first two children; but from the subsequent offspring were generated the nations of the earth. The *Bundahis* legends, though written down in the early Christian centuries, were derived from a remoter age, and are interesting from a certain rude resemblance to the story of Genesis.

\* *Bundahis*, chap. xv., in vol. v. of "*Sacred Books of the East*."

The serpent which plays so fatal a part in the Yahvst history is not even in the Bible always a malevolent creature as witness the brazen serpent of Moses. In the old Vedic religion the serpent Ahi is the sullen cloud whence the god Indra forces the life-giving rain. Zoroastrianism always looked on the serpent as an emblem of evil. Egypt made the serpent Apap a symbol of the darkness of night which was vanquished by the rays of the rising sun. Phœnicia associated a serpent with Eshmun the god of commerce and learning and the healing Asclepius of the Greeks with his accompanying serpent was evolved from Eshmun. That the serpent of Eden has a phallic meaning has been maintained by various writers, and with some show of reason though the Yahvst himself may not have wished such an interpretation to be drawn.

The cherubim which guarded the gates of Paradise Lost were in Lenormant's opinion man-headed bulls like the colossal winged figures which stood at Assyrian gates\*.

*The Deluge*—The flood myth occurs even among the Redskins, to repeat stories of one three or eight persons saved by climbing a lofty hill. In Polynesia a legend recounts the adventures of a man and his wife who accompanied by a chicken and dog etc. escaped a great overflow by scaling a mountain and this remnant gave birth to a new race. It is not incredible that some of these myths may be native variations of tales heard from the lips of Europeans. Greece believed in a flood which drowned all but Deucalion and Pyrrha who floated in an ark to Mount Parnassus, and flung behind them stones which were transformed into human beings. Egypt had no deluge-myth. Pre-Christian India repeated its tradition of a flood in this wise. A fish begged Manu for protection which was granted. The grateful fish warned Manu to prepare for a flood. Manu's ship of refuge was guided by the fish to a northern mountain and fastened to a tree. Of all men Manu alone remained. Into the water he threw offerings of butter, curds, and whey and there at length emerged from the sea

\* On the Chaldean Tylen see Seeley's Hibber Lecture for Phallic serpent on Wheeler's "Bible Studies" and for the whole of the Genesis legends treated in this section Lenormant's "Beginnings of History".

a woman who became the mother of a new population. The ancient Chinese account of a flood probably refers to an inundation caused by the Hoang-ho.

The Chaldean legend, which seems to have furnished a basis for the flood-romances of Asia and Europe, has been deciphered from cuneiform inscriptions on broken tablets from Assur-bani-pal's library. It was derived from the Akkadian age, and the original was probably composed before 2000 B.C. The great epic of the solar hero Gilgamesh (Gilgames, Izduhar, Gizdhubar) relates in twelve "books" the twelve great episodes of the demi-god's life, his friendship with the beast-man Ilea-bani, his meeting with the goddess Istar, etc. In the eleventh section the hero hears from Tamzi (Sisuthrus, Sitnapistim, Hasisadra, etc.) the narrative of the great deluge. Tamzi said that, in the city where he once dwelt, he alone honoured the gods. By their command he built a large ribbed vessel, roofed it over, and smeared it with bitumen. In this he placed wine, food, furniture, seed, beasts, cattle, and servants, and shut himself in. Thunder clouds broke in dreadful torrents for seven days. Corpses floated like innumerable reeds. At Mount Nizir the ark stopped. On the seventh day after the rain ceased Tamzi sent out a dove, which returned; a swallow, which also came back; a raven, which stayed to feed on carrion. The inmates of the ark went forth. Sacrifice was offered to the gods, who descended like flies upon the altar to smell the sweet savour. A rainbow appeared across the sky.

The Chaldean narrative is made up of portions of at least two texts, just as in the Bible the legend is told by P., except the Yahvist passages concerning the clean beasts grouped in sevens, the flight of the birds, Noah's sacrifice, and a few smaller fragments. As<sup>1</sup> to dates, it may here be repeated that the Chaldean story comes down from about 2000 B.C.; the Yahvist from about 800, and the Priestly version from a still later period. Who can avoid concluding that the Biblical record was borrowed from the Chaldean?

The Yahvist gives the history of the tower of Babel. Some incomplete cuneiform inscriptions allude to the displeasure of the gods at the building of the great tower of the Seven Planets, which was built outside Babylon, and dedicated to the god Nebo; and the tower, in very early

times, fell into ruins, to be afterwards restored by Nebuchadrezzar. But how this trouble first came about is not clear. When the inscription refers to the builders being confounded it uses the word *balal* or *balah*, whence the Hebrew name Babel might, by an ingenious shift, be derived. But the Chaldeans called the tower Bah-ilu = the gate of the god and this was a translation of a yet older Akkadian name Cadimura. The popular meaning of "confusion" must therefore be rejected.

The antique records in Genesis and Exodus, which come from the pens of the Yahvist and Elohist (for P must be omitted in a correct historical review), show how the Hebrew religious spirit was beginning in the days of Omri, Ahab, and following kings, to put its own construction upon the myths it derived from Chaldea, Egypt, and other neighbouring regions. There was a tendency to infuse a graver temper and a more pronounced moral character into these old materials. The histories which amid much barbaric reminiscence, told how sin was punished by the deluge, Abraham generously interceded for Sodom, Joseph resisted a great temptation, Judah pleaded on behalf of Benjamin and the solemn delivery of a law of conduct from the divine solitudes of Sinai were evidently foretokens of a nobler development of religious aspiration and practical ethics.\*

10 The Prophets Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, etc.—The older prophet or *nabi* (akin to the Assyrian *Nebo*) was a diviner, seer and rainmaker. He had no impressive moral status. Men like Samuel and Elijah and Micaiah led the way to higher ground. In the eighth century B.C. Hebrew enthusiasm culminated in a race of reformers, who practised no arts of divination, prescribed no ritual, and while withstanding the tyranny and self-indulgence of the rich and great exalted the just and lowly. The priests had delivered to the people a certain limited Torah (law instruction) but it was usually conventional and perfunctory and ethically meagre. A

warmer and purer Torah was brought in by the prophets of the eighth century. Untaught by tradition, and speaking straight from the heart, they stood in the highways and appealed to Israel to give ear to the Torah of God. This God was Yahveh, but Yahveh unstained by many of his more primitive characteristics, and soaring to a height of glory where he dwelt supreme. Other gods were false and fictional. There was but one god. The prophets had advanced beyond monolatry, and laid the foundations of monotheism. Nevertheless, they had to carve out the new faith unaided by the mass of the Hebrew nation. The prophets were pioneers. Only after their death did their creed slowly filter into the consciousness of the Jewish race.

*Amos* tended flocks on the southern mountains, and plucked sycamore fruit. This bronzed son of the wilderness, stirred by prophetic impulses, not only raised a cry of denunciation against Syria, Philistia, Tyre, Edom, and Ammon, but dared to enter the sanctuary of the bull-headed image of Yahveh of Bethel, and there utter burning words against the luxury and immorality of the northern kingdom. Israel was then at peace under Jeroboam II. The prosperous citizens of Samaria dwelt in mansions of hewn stone, and reclined on ivory couches at banquets. But, amid the melody of viols and the clamour of the wine-bibbers' songs, Amos heard the plaints of the poor and the sighing of the oppressed. To Yahveh religious feasts and the scent of burnt-offerings were hateful: he required justice and righteousness. And Israel would be roused to a sense of the divine anger by a dark day of judgment. When, however, the wrathful tempest had passed over, a golden era would set in, nevermore to be interrupted.

The doom of Israel was hastening. The kingdom of Israel, like a witless dove, fluttered between the empires of Assyria and Egypt, now seeking to propitiate the one, now the other. *Hosea*, in passionate, abrupt sentences, upbraided the men of Ephraim (*i.e.*, the northern country) for the lying and bloodshed and priestly corruption which prevailed in their cities, and, above all, for the idolatrous homage which they paid to mere gilded images. Or, melting from sternness to pathetic appeal, he besought Israel, as a faithless wife, to return to her lord Yahveh, and follow the way

of piety and mercy. Meanwhile the legions of Assyria were gathering on the horizon. The warriors of Sargon broke into Samaria in 722 B.C., and, as the cuneiform inscriptions record 27,280 Israelites were carried captive. The land was brought miserably low, and legend tells of lions roaming into the ruined villages (2 Kings xvii 25), but kings still ruled in Samaria, and furnished tribute to the conqueror at Nineveh\*.

In the latter half of the eighth century *Isaiah*, a peasant from the Philistine frontier, reproached both Israel and Judah for their social evils, their hireling soothsayers, and bribe-taking judges, but the book which goes by his name bears marks of interpolation. The reference to the wasting of Assyria suggests insertion by a later hand. Critics seem agreed that the sixth chapter was added in after years, it censures the vices of the people, and calls not for slaughtered rams or effusions of oil but for doing justly, loving mercy, and walking humbly with God. The closing verses (vii 7-20) rust a hymn of gladness at the prospect of the return from Babylon, and were probably written by an exile.

*Isaiah* was the greatest prophet of the eighth century. The ease with which he obtained access to the kings Ahaz and Hezekiah, whenever he had a prophetic message to deliver, gives rise to the conjecture that he was of aristocratic blood. In his visions of the future blessedness of Zion he imagines that princes will still be at the head of the State. And detailed references to foreign regions and political events, and the amplitude of his illustrations and metaphors prove him to have been a man of education and culture. That comparatively speaking a high level of culture and art was attained by the people of Judah at this period would seem to be indicated by the literary style of the prophets and their allusions to social habits, by the treasures of jewels and ornamental shields, etc., amassed by Hezekiah and by the aqueducts which were constructed for the supply of Jerusalem. Some chapters of the collection of Proverbs (xlv-xxiv) are attributed to Hezekiah's scribes. Yet, well born as he was, *Isaiah* had a deep sympathy for the humble folk, the Judæan "Anavim." "What mean ye," he exclaims indignantly to wealthy oppressors, "that

\* "Witness of Assyria" chapter xi



ye beat my people to pieces and grind the faces of the poor? Fervidly he denounces the pretentious piety which observed new moons and Sabbaths and winked at bribery, the selfish coquetries and elaborate toilet of Zion's ma dens, and the splendid images of the sanctuaries. Not less passionate are his outcries against the enemies of Yahveh's people, the Assyrians bough shall be lopped with terror, Moab shall howl Damascus shall lie in ruinous heaps, Egypt shall reel like a drunkard Tyre shall be laid waste. In the storm of prophetic emotion there occur magnificent lulls of gentle appeal and promise. Come now and let us reason together he pleads though your sins be as scarlet they shall be as white as snow. A happy day will dawn when the hill of Zion shall be the glorious centre of a peaceful earth when nations shall refashion their swords into ploughshare the wolf shall dwell with the lamb water shall be drawn with joy from the wells of salvation the desert shall turn to flowery meadows blind eyes shall be opened and sorrow and sighing shall flee away. The eyes of hope behold a future prince, brilliant and mystical who shall sit on the throne of David and whose proud name shall be Counsellor the Mighty God and the Everlasting Father.

No doubt Isaiah's prophecies have been retouched by later hands and strokes introduced to impart more definition and precision to what were originally eloquent but vague utterances. The passages in chapters viii xiv 23 and xxiv xxvii were apparently added after the Exile and the book was furnished with an appendix (chapters xxxvi xxxiv) which is almost word for word the same as the account in 2 Kings xviii 13 xix 19 relating to Sennacherib's invasion and Hezekiah's illness. An episode much misinterpreted may be here alluded to—viz. the fear of King Ahaz at the leaguings against him of Israel and Syria, and Isaiah's assurance that a virgin shall conceive and bear a son (vii). In effect Isaiah is reported as saying that a young Jewess, who is not yet a mother shall ere long have a child and before this infant has learnt the difference between good and evil (i.e. before some two or three years have passed) Samaria and Damascus shall be overthrown. The opening verses of the next chapter went on the birth of a son to Isaiah and no supernatural occurrence is hinted at

What part Isaiah took in the religious reforms carried out under King Hezekiah cannot be ascertained. The earlier account (in 2 Kings xviii) represents the king as felling the Asherahs, and shattering the brazen serpent to which the people burned incense, while the later version (2 Chron. xxix, xxx, xxxi) expands the proceedings into elaborate sacrifices and tithe-offerings and passover observances. But the new departure had over-run the popular sentiment. During the long reign of Manasseh, and under his son Amon, the Asherahs were again up-reared, star worship flourished, sorcerers practised divinations unchecked, and Moloch's fires were lit, though, curiously enough, the Chronicler makes Manasseh repent and acknowledge the true divinity of Yahveh.

It was at this period that the famous Assurbanipal (668-626) displayed his power in the sack of the Egyptian city of Thebes, or No-amon and his magnificence in the buildings which he erected at Nineveh. His great palace was ennobled with porticoes, columns, and spacious halls and corridors, the walls were lined with slabs, on which were engraved battle and hunting scenes\*. When Nineveh fell (607) before the Babylonians and Medes the prophet Nahum raised a psalm in which the tones of cursing and triumph were commingled and contrasted the former pride of Nineveh, her palaces, her scarlet coated warriors and swift chariots with her subsequent ruin and prostration, her fire blackened walls and her people scattered among inhospitable mountains†

**11 Deuteronomy and Jeremiah.**—In the year 621 B.C., when the pious and impressionable King Josiah was twenty five years old the scribe Shaphan visited the temple, where he was met by a mysterious announcement from the high priest Hilkiah. 'I have found the book of the law in the house of Yahveh.' The scribe coned the manuscript,

\* St. Chad Boscawen's "From Under the Dust of Ages" lecture on Assyrian Palaces.

† W. R. Smith's "Old Testament in the Jewish Church" lect. x, and "Prophets of Israel," lectures iii. to viii. Kuenen's "Psalms of Israel," chap. i. Renan's "History of Israel" books iv and v. Montefiore's "Hubbert Lectures," iii. and iv., Driver's "Introduction" on "

carried it away, and read it to the king, who excitedly rent his robes, and sent messengers to ask counsel of the prophetess Huldah. They came back with her reply (so runs the story in 2 Kings xvii.) that the doom uttered in the newly-found book against incense-burning to strange gods would fall upon idolatrous Judah, but not in King Josiah's time. A great assembly of the people was convened. Standing on a platform in front of the Temple, the king read out the roll to the multitude. All swore to keep the Covenant with Jahveh which it enjoined. With clatter and enthusiasm the furniture of Baal and star-worship was cleared from Yahveh's house, the pillar-like Ashera demolished, the chambers and curtains of the Kedeshim flung down, and the fragments tossed into a blazing heap outside the city. The sacred horses were driven from the Temple, Moloch's sanctuary was degraded into a place of refuse, and sorcerers were made to cease their divinations. The priests of the high places were allowed to serve at Yahveh's Temple as inferiors and menials. A distinction between priests and Levites grew out of this change.

What was this wonder-working Book?

It was not of great length, being read by Shaphan to the king in apparently brief time, and again by the king to the people. It contained severe threats, warnings against sorcery, insistence upon popular worship at one central place, and exhortation to keep the Passover. All these features are discoverable in the book of *Deuteronomy*, chapters v. to xxviii. inclusive, the introductory and latter chapters being subsequent additions.\* This document is complete in itself, as is indicated by such expressions as "this law," "these commandments," etc. It is marked by characteristic phrases, such as "with a mighty hand and outstretched arm," "the good land" (Canaan), etc. The Deuteronomic Code speaks of "the priests the Levites," never of "the sons of Aaron," as in the P. writings (p. 56). And the singular fact is to be noted that the legislation set out in the Code is founded upon the precepts contained in JE., especially Exodus xx.-xxiii.; and the historical allusions

\* The name is derived from the Septuagint version of xii. 18, where "*To deuteronomion touto*" = a copy of this law; and it has no reference, as popularly supposed, to a previous statement of the law.

are also taken from the Yahvist and Elohist manuscripts, but no such correspondence occurs with P. So that the author of Deuteronomy had before him the old Yahvist and Elohist records but knew nothing of that Priests Code which in the modern Bible, is so closely interwoven with the J.E. text. In fact, P was not yet written. The new Torah of Deuteronomy ranged over such subjects as these. The Decalogue, warnings against idolatry (the idolatrous city must be rased to the ground) witchcraft and religious prostitution directions for sacrifice and the annual pilgrimages at the feasts of Unleavened Bread, of Weeks, and of Tabernacles, laws regulating slavery, sexual relations, the levirate, the operations of war the province of judges etc. Large powers are given to the Levitical priests, they are universal arbitrators, by them every controversy which touches the religious domain is to be tried. The magistracy is to be honest, bribery to be abhorred. A humane spirit must be manifested the gleaner is allowed to take the stray sheaf or gripe cluster the needy man's pledge shall be restored at sundown the birds nest must be left unmolested. An esthetic sentiment gleams out pleasantly here and there—the kid must not be boiled in its mother's milk, the ox and ass may not be yoked together the sexes may not interchange garments modest sanitary habits shall be practised Israel shall be a holy people and they upon whom Yahveh has set his love shall love him with the whole heart. While the Yahvist permitted altars of stone or earth to be erected anywhere (Exodus xx 24 25) the Deuteronomist limits sacrifices to Jerusalem. Every seventh year said the Yahvist, the land should lie fallow and all men eat the produce (Exodus xxiii 11) but the Deuteronomist expands the ordinance and commands that in the Sabbatical year debtors should be absolved and bondsmen set free. There are indications in J.E. that originally the first born of men and cattle were slain as a gift to the deity (Exodus xvii 29 30) but this custom was softened into that of redemption (Exodus xiii 12 13) or substitution of another offering in the case of human firstlings. Probably after a time the people assembled at the spring season to 'redeem' the first born in the mass and the redemption festival became associated with the feast of Mazzoth or unleavened bread. Then the legend of the Exodus was superadded to the

history of the celebration, and the Lord was made to "pass over" the Israelite firstlings on his way to kill those of the Egyptians. It is strange that in Deuteronomy the reference to the first-born is quite cut out, perhaps with the intention of diverting the minds of the Jewish people from customs to which, as the prevalence of Moloch worship had shown, they were already too prone. The first edition of Hilkiah's book closed with an impressive series of blessings and curses. The added chapters contain two passages which merit notice. The "Song of Moses" (xxvii. 1-43) is cast in a different mould of thought and style from that of the Deuteronomist, and may have been composed at an earlier date. It praises Yahveh, the Rock of Israel, who, from the days of old, had done great things for his people, and watched over them as the mother-eagle tends her eaglets; stern reproach is uttered against the nation for losing faith in Yahveh, and a promise of deliverance from enemies held out if they remember him in their humiliation. The other passage is the "Blessing of Moses" (xxviii.), which showers benedictions on the twelve tribes, and exalts the Lord of Sinai, whose everlasting arms support the Chosen People. This also is of older date than Deuteronomy proper.

Throughout the narrative portion of the book Moses is spoken of in the third person. No doubt, however, the writer and his associates wished the laws and precepts, many of which were perhaps derived from tradition, to impress the Jewish multitude as invested with the authority of Moses. The name of Moses was dear to the priesthood, and conveyed a charm to the popular ear. It stood for the wisdom of antiquity, and for divine revelation. In the name of Moses, then, a few years before Josiah's reform in 621, the book of Deuteronomy had been penned. And the new spirit not only created a protestant movement against the older polytheism; it coloured the literature of the age. Deuteronomic ideas inspired the compilers and historians who now began to collect the national traditions which afterwards took permanent form in the books of Judges (ii. 6 to xvi.), Samuel, and Kings. Thus, in harmony with the teaching of Deuteronomy, the history of the Judges is prefaced (ii. 11-19) by the theory that Yahveh sold Israel into the hands of their enemies when they forsook him, and repented and raised up delivering judges when they groaned in distress and

cried unto the Lord, and this theory all the stories of the tribulations of Yahveh's people are made to illustrate. A writer, whose tone is Deuteronomic, provided a collection of popular proverbs with a discourse in praise of Wisdom (Proverbs 1 to 11) counselling the young Israelite to shun the way of harlotry, sloth, and greed and to choose that virtue which is better than fine gold or choice silver and closing with a noble allegory, in which Wisdom cries in the street and invites all men to her temple, where the feast of righteousness and truth is amply spread.

At this period arose three prophets

*Zeplaniak* draws a grim and shadowy picture of Yahveh's day of judgment the terrors of which may have been suggested by the torrent of barbaric Scythians which ravaged the coast and filled Egypt with alarm and his angry reproaches against the treachery and religious pollution which were rife in Jerusalem may be aimed at the priests and nobles of Josiah's earlier days. *Jeremiah* belonged to the puritan and iconoclastic party. In after years he looked back regretfully to the pious Josiah as one who espoused the cause of the poor and needy. But Josiah had fallen in a vain attempt to stay the march of the Egyptians (609) and the lustre of the new monotheism had waned and the idols were placed again on their pedestals. Against this relapse Jeremiah expostulates with a fervour which rises almost to agony. Israel has forsaken the fountain of living waters and hewed out broken cisterns which mock at misplaced faith and hope. The princes and priests bow to a lifeless stock, and say 'Thou art my father.' Every city has its god. Yahveh's people have fallen away like an unfaithful wife. Behind the clouds of incense which roll up to Babel the prophet beholds a dark scene of bloodshed, adultery, theft, and falsehood. In the distance vengeance looms. A foe from the north (the Scythians perhaps) is hurrying on like a whirlwind, their voices sound like the roaring sea. Jeremiah stands at the gate of the Temple and appeals to the passing worshippers to abandon heathenish abominations and walk in the way of Yahveh who delights in loving-kindness, judgment and righteousness (ix 24, the peculiar change of tone in the next chapter would seem to indicate the work of another hand and other circumstances). But the people will not keep the covenant

which the new Torah of Deuteronomy had proclaimed. They even threaten Jeremiah's life. He is in peril of being slaughtered like a lamb or ox (xi. 19). The king contemptuously burns the parchment on which Jeremiah has written his warnings. Yahveh is wroth. Even if Moses and Samuel interceded, he would not spare Judah, whose sin is graven deep, whose heart is deceitful above all things and desperately wicked. Jeremiah collects a crowd of citizens around him, hurls down an earthen vessel into the valley outside Jerusalem, and lays Yahveh's curse upon the nation which is doomed to be shattered in like manner.

It required no deep genius to foresee the fall of the city. The Chaldean hosts were swarming in from the east. The prophet *Habakkuk* graphically describes the advancing squadrons, the horses swifter than leopards, the horsemen swooping like eagles; and yet, with a defiant joy, he raises a hymn to the supreme Yahveh, who measures the earth, shakes the eternal hills, and illumines the sky with his lightning spear; and in Yahveh he will trust, even though vine and olive wither, and the cattle die plague-stricken in their stalls. In 597 this confidence was severely tested. Jerusalem was hemmed in by the armies of Babylon.\* King Jehoiachin capitulated, and Nebuchadrezzar, at one stroke, swept out the aristocracy of Court and Temple, and deported some 10,000 captives to the banks of the Euphrates. The humbler folk were left. So, too, was Jeremiah, and bitter were the upbraidings he addressed to the new king, Zedekiah, who was no friend to the Deuteronomic movement. The exiles, among whom was the famous Ezekiel, included a considerable body of sympathisers with Jeremiah's propaganda. The prophet calls them good figs; the remnant in Judah are bad and foul. Jeremiah's life is agitated and unhappy. He quarrels with a rival prophet, Hananiah; and when the Chaldeans again invade the land, and he advises the people to surrender, he is thrust into prison, and even lowered into a muddy well. The end now draws near (586). The gates are battered in. Fiery red burns the heaven over Jerusalem. The Temple goes down amid lurid volumes of smoke. The garrison scatters in wild

\* After the fall of Nineveh, in 607, a new Babylonian empire had arisen.

terror King Zedekiah's eyes are torn out by the lord of Babylon. A second multitude of Jews are led away by the pitiless Chaldeans. The treasures of Yahveh's house are included in the baggage of the great army which retraces its way to far off Babylon.

Jeremiah remained among the lowly peasants whom the conquerors had left undisturbed in their fields and plantations. Strife broke out among the party which gathered round Gedaliah whom Nebuchadnezzar had left as captain over the forlorn land. Gedaliah was murdered and a troop of Jews hurried down into Egypt bearing with them the unwilling Jeremiah. And if we may trust to the pages of the book which bears his name, the very last echoes of his voice are bitter with menace and curse against Egypt and Philistia and Moab and Ammon and Edom\* and Syria. His melancholy strains are caught up in the book of Lamentations probably written by some disciple of Jeremiah and imitative of his language. It is a pathetic sigh over the ruins of the beloved city which is now fondly remembered as the perfection of beauty, the joy of the whole earth. Terrible reminiscences of the last siege are preserved of delicate women scraping dunghills in search of food, or turning cannibals and devouring their babes. The book is divided into five poems the first four of which are divided into rhythmic verses arranged alphabetically—that is the initial letters of the twenty-two verses in each poem are successively the *aleph beth, gimel* etc. of the Hebrew alphabet. There is in this device a certain artificiality which is foreign to the emotional and impulsive character of Jeremiah †

\* The short prophecy of Obadiah is a denunciation of Edom and may date from the age of Jeremiah, but no certainty on the subject seems attainable.

† Driver's Introduction to Kuenen's *Religion of Israel* chap. vi. Kuenen's *History of Israel* book i. Montefiore's *Hebrew Lectures* i. It may be noted that Sale and others regard the first issue of Deuteronomy as consisting only of chapters x. l. to xx. l. The book of Jeremiah is in a confused condition the chapters being chronologically misplaced and definition was no doubt given to its prophecies by editors who wrote after the restoration to Judaea. With regard to the introductory chapters of *Proverbs* it is Driver's opinion that they are derived from this period. Montefiore believes them to be post-Exilic and as possibly belonging to the Persian era.



12. **The Exile and its Literature and the Return**—The Jews were now dispersed in three places. One forlorn troop had settled in Egypt. Communities of rustic folk tilled the fields of Judah. The flower of the nation dwelt in and near the great metropolises of Babylon. The ten tribes of Samaria did not preserve their unity. Some mingled with the foreign colonists planted in the northern kingdom by the Assyrians. Many of the descendants of those who had been removed to Chaldea probably joined themselves to the later exiles from Jerusalem. They no longer had an independent existence.\*

By the rivers of Babylon as a touching psalm (cxxxvii) tells the exiles sat down and wept when they remembered Zion. The harp hung silent on the willows and against Babylon the dreadful hope was muttered that the babes might be dashed upon the stones. Yet externally the life of the banished Hebrews was not intolerable. They lived in groups self-governed and with power to pursue regular occupations and amass money. The divisions of rank were kept up. Servants and maids waited upon the wealthier classes (Ezra ii 65). Communications passed without difficulty between the exiles and their mother country†. The great city on the Euphrates was no unattractive spot, its houses separated by orchards meadows and willow bordered canals and arch tectes and masons were building proud temples and palaces for King Nebuchadrezzar. Yet, amid this sea of strange populations and imposing structures and military splendour the Jews clung together as on an island whispering to each other the consolations of a religion which was being purified by their sorrow. Above all the more reflective minds spent their leisure in conning and copying and re-writing the records of their past, and in planning out a new religious constitution for the day of restoration to their loved Judæa.

The books of Judges Samuel and Kings were revised and added to. As already pointed out Deuteronomical ideas are clearly traceable in the section of *Judges* (ii 6 to xvi) which delineates the fortunes of Israel as rising or falling.

\* See a series of articles by A. Neubauer on "Where are the Ten Tribes?" in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* 1889.

† Stade's *Geschichte* part 1 book 1 ch 1.

according to their faith in or infidelity to Yahveh. The introductory portion (J E) and the concluding chapters do not, in diction or method, show affinity with the Deuteronomist and must have been added later. An apparently direct reference to the exile occurs in xviii 35 — the day of the captivity of the land. The books of *Samuel* contain much old material. David's adventures at Saul's court and in the wilderness, his campaigns and his loves, the rebellion of Absalom and the high handedness of Joab, are related with a simple force and picturesqueness which are only lightly overlaid with a moralising purpose. Several hands have been at work on the book. The most recently written passages furnish Hannah's song, the prophecy of the fall of Eli's house, the warnings of Samuel against the evils of kingship, the story of Saul's sin in sparing the Amalekite chief's life, and David's proposal to build a temple to his patron Yahveh. These betray an evident intention to educe a pious lesson. The book of *Kings* is strongly coloured by Deuteronomic thought. Each king is religiously characterised as doing that which was right in the eyes of Yahveh or that which was evil. All the Kings of Samaria are set down as evil — *i.e.* given either to polytheism or to the worship of Yahveh under the emblem of a calf etc. Much detail is devoted to the Temple, and care is taken to introduce "men of God" at every crisis. Especially graphic and romantic are the sketches of the prophets Elijah and Elisha, to whom the compilers would look back as the forerunners of the true faith. Not only is the general tone but even a number of phrases are Deuteronomic as "the heaven and the heaven of heavens," the "iron furnace of Egypt" to "provoke Yahveh to anger," "him that is shut up and left in Israel" † "under every green tree," etc.

Again judging by the sure test of literary style Deuteronomic insertions are found in the book of *Jshua* as the whole of the first chapter and other fragments in which special stress is placed upon the duty of

\* These and other parallel expressions with Deuteronomy occur in Solomon's prayer "which distinctly alludes to the Babylonian exile and they thus indicate the age of its composition."

† This peculiar phrase occurs several times in *Kings* and is found in Deut. xxxii 36. It should be read "both the fettered and the free" — that is all the people bond or freemen.

carrying out the law, which Moses, the servant of Yahveh, commanded Israel.

*Ezekiel* had formed one of the first sorrowful train of exiles in 597. He was a priest by profession, an enthusiastic Yahvist by conviction. For 22 years (597 to 576) he exhorted, persuaded, and upbraided his fellow exiles. Many disliked his stern doctrines. A group of more sympathetic souls would occasionally visit his house by the river Chebar. Often he illustrated his teaching by symbolic action. With his own hand he seems to have committed his prophecies to writing. His book is methodically ordered, and has been very little tampered with. In style he is plain and unadorned. He is deeply sacerdotalist. Ritual and ceremonial are necessities to his religion. Relentlessly and gloomily he metes out Yahveh's wrath upon Judah. The opening vision reveals the Supreme riding a chariot, the flashing wheels of which are attached to mystical winged creatures\*. Idolatrous Jerusalem must fall before the armies of Babylon, and diviners and prophetesses who told Judah otherwise were speakers of fatal lies. Judah is dry vine-wood, to be flung into the fire; Judah is a whorish wife cast out by Yahveh, even as her sister Samaria has been branded with shame; she must bend under the divine rod, and quail before his gleaming sword; and all this because the nobles shed innocent blood, unchastity was rife, usury enacted, Sabbaths unheeded, and (mark the priest!) no distinction was made between things holy and profane. But Yahveh's anger is impartial, and he will vengefully scourge other nations besides Judah; Ammon, Moab, Edom, Philistia, the crowded seaport of Tyre, Sidon, Egypt, will each writhe under the Lord's visitation. Then a lull comes. Before *Ezekiel's* eyes opens out a happy dream of Judah restored, Jerusalem rebuilt, Yahveh watching as shepherd over his people, who, with clean hearts, shall forsake the sin of idolatry. Exiled Judah shall rise like living heroes from the valley of dead bones. A grim foe from the north

\* The winged figures are evidently of Chaldean origin. The "wheels" are thought by Lenormant to be discs whirling in a horizontal plane, the tyres of these drum shaped bodies being studded with eyes. -A similar wheel, he suggests, was the flaming guardian of Paradise ("Beginnings of History," chapter iii.).

(Gog) shall dash madly against the holy city, but he shall perish with infinite slaughter and leave Yahveh's people free to erect a glorious Temple that shall delight the hearts of priests and overlook a land divided into rectangular plots for the twelve tribes. And even the Dead Sea shall be made pure and sweet.

Ezekiel drew a clear line between the Levites who had been associated with the high places, asheras and idols and the Levites who supported the more modern monotheism. The old order were degraded into inferior servants of the sanctuary. For the pure Yahvists a noble pedigree was found, they were entitled the sons of Zadok (Ez. xlii. 10). In time to come this epithet of Zadokites gave birth to the term *Sadducees*.

There is in the book of Leviticus, a section (10 chapters, xvii. xxvi.) which in idiom and motive differs from the context. It contains characteristic and recurring expressions such as, 'my sabbaths' evil purpose or wickedness, 'my statutes and my judgments' and nearly fifty times 'I am Yahveh'. Throughout it we meet phrases to which the prophet Ezekiel is partial. Especially in Lev. xxvi. 3-45 the exhortation which threatens idolatrous Israel with exile and a terrible sabbath-stillness of desolation in Judah do parallels occur with Ezekiel. Examples are these: 'pine away in the iniquities,' 'in the sight of the nations' (heathen) 'sun images' and many others. Did Ezekiel borrow from this Levitical document or did its author adopt the language of Ezekiel? These questions are difficult to answer. But the similarity is unquestionable. The ten chapters have received the apt name of the *Law of Holiness*. Under the supposed sanction of Moses are grouped together a number of laws and precepts on sacrifice, sexual proprieties, avoidance of non Yahvistic practices, the observance of festivals, the character of priests, and the treatment of slaves and the poor. All these ceremonies and duties are seen through an esthetic and devotional atmosphere. 'Ye shall be holy for I the Lord thy God am holy' this is the keynote. For holiness sake incest must be abhorred, consideration meted out to the deaf and blind and aged, the priest must shun contact with death, and be free of physical blemish. The feasts, once merry gathering of rustics, now become holy convocations.

The blasphemer of Yahveh's sacred name is to be stoned. An annual Day of Atonement is fixed, and the people are then to pass the hours in penitence and humbling of the soul. A new turn is given to the ancient custom (probably a survival of early communism) of leaving the soil fallow every seventh year. No plough or spade may touch the earth, because it, like man, must observe the holy rest-season. "The seventh year shall be a sabbath of rest unto the land, a sabbath for Yahveh." Every fiftieth year a jubilee is held; slaves are freed, alienated estates restored, and the fatness of the fields becomes common property. The advancing wave of Jewish ethic sparkles into the noble maxim, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself;" and this maxim is to embrace even the stranger; "for ye," adds the unknown author, with a touch of pathos, "were strangers in the land of Egypt."

Thus the exiles solaced themselves with thoughts of the providence of Yahveh in the past, and with dreams of the kingdom and religion of the future. Their conception of Yahveh was being sublimed and clarified; their passion for precept and regulation and priestly routine was deepening. Faith was expanding; the Law was gaining in scope and definition.

Meanwhile the political world was pregnant with great changes. In 556 Nabonidus became king of Babylon. A man of peace, a student of records of antiquity, a builder of temples, he was in no way fitted to stay the overshadowing invasion of the great Cyrus. Master of Anzan (Elam) and Persia and Media, Syria and Phœnicia, and conqueror of Cræsus, Cyrus led his hosts towards Babylon. Whether by hint from the invader, or roused by spontaneous hope, certain it is that the Jewish exiles now trembled with joyous expectancy. Cyrus came as a deliverer. His victory would mean restoration to their father-land. As the Elamite and Persian army bore down upon the capital a cry of triumph arose among the exiles, which is expressed in chapters i. and ii. of the book of Jeremiah. In these chapters, which, of course, were not the work of Jeremiah himself, a lively picture is painted of the commotions in Babylon, and the almost hysteric exultation of the captive Jews. A sound of battle is heard, and of great destruction. "The sword of vengeance threatens Chaldæa, its astrologers, warriors, horses,

chariots, citizens. The great city falls in a drunken swoon. Messengers rush in from the provinces with tidings of the enemy's progress. The garrison tremble like women. Babylon's broad ramparts shall be shattered, and the city lie desolate for ever. A similar pæan is sounded in Isaiah xlii. 1-23 (passages written, no doubt, just before the capture of Babylon) and a magnificent vision is unfolded of the golden city falling, like Lucifer from among the stars, into the grim shadow of a subterranean Sheol, and the place of Babylon is occupied by a desert, and lonely pools and hoarse-sounding bitterns. But, as historic matter of fact, Babylon was not reduced to desolation till the Roman period. Town after town yielded to Cyrus, King Nabonidus was too weak to resist, Babylon opened its gates, the invaders entered with ease, and quietly took possession (538). The unknown Poet of the Restoration, whose compositions have been attached to the book of Isaiah,\* greeted Cyrus as a messenger of Yahveh, and perhaps was sanguine enough to expect the conqueror to adopt the Hebrew faith. Cyrus, however, was no religious enthusiast. An inscription has been found in which he tells the world how he has paid honour to Bel and Nebo and Merodach, the gods of Babylon. His acknowledgment of the divinities of Chaldaea was a political device in order to attach the people to the new dynasty †

A body of the exiles with the permission of Cyrus, now prepared to return to Palestine. Not all however or even a majority, were included in this first caravan. The number was 42,360 of whom about an eighth part belonged to the sacerdotal class. Some 4 000 were priests, 74 were drawn from the inferior class now distinguished as Levites, and they were accompanied by groups of sacred singers, and menials who performed the lower functions of worship. Thrilled with new born hope and gladness, the pilgrims harnessed their train of horses, mules, and camels and set their faces westwards towards Jerusalem. And, as they halted on the toilsome road from time to time, one can imagine them eagerly clustering round the *nameless Poet* who sang the song of liberty, and the new birth of the

\* Chapters xl. to end

† The inscription is given in the *Contemporary Review*, Jan., 1880

nation: "Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people, saith your God. Speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem, and cry unto her that her warfare is accomplished, that her iniquity is pardoned: for she hath received of Yahveh's hand double for all her <sup>o</sup>sins." Yahveh shall lead his flock like a shepherd—Yahveh, who measured the waters in his palm and weighed the mountains. Before Yahveh's majesty how small and mean appear the graven and carved idols of the gold or silver-smith or carpenter! Bel, Nebo, and the rest are mere cast metal or hewn timber, carried on men's shoulders, and set dumbly on their pedestals. But Yahveh created the heavens, and formed the earth. "Look unto me, and be ye saved, all ye ends of the earth," the prophet cries in Yahveh's name, "for I am God, and there is none else."

The gods and astrology and magic of Chaldaea cannot stay the onward sweep of doom. Luxurious, dainty Babylon shall sit in the dust. The Chaldaean virgin shall be stripped, and toil at the lowly handmill in nakedness and slavery. And out of the prison-house of Babylon shall emerge God's Servant, glorious and transfigured. Who is Yahveh's Servant? It is Jacob, purified by the storm and stress of national disaster and an exile of three-score years. These pious elders, these solemn priests, these devout singers, wending their laborious way to the ruins of Jerusalem, have learnt the truth of the universe, the supreme lesson that Yahveh is the One God, the Holy, the Everlasting. This knowledge the Servant will carry to Judaea as joyful tidings, a new song, light for blind eyes, balm for the broken-hearted, freedom for captive souls. Jacob had been obstinate, a rebellious people, sacrificing to false gods, vexing Yahveh's holy spirit. In Babylon the Servant had suffered, drinking the cup of Yahveh's fury, growing in the furnace of affliction, baring his back to the lash, meekly turning his scarred visage to the contemptuous spitting of the heathen. But now the fainting Servant shall awake from desponding silence, and put on broidered garments, and march triumphantly to Zion. The barren mother shall bear children; the thirsty shall drink; the tempest-beaten shall dwell in a palace which glitters with sapphires and carbuncles; the very hills shall break into music; and sweet myrtles grow in place of hateful briars. All Israel had sinned. The history of Yahveh's

people had been a long record of unfaithfulness. And for this transgression the children of the exile had paid the penalty. The Servant was despised among the nations. On him fained the blows of God. Bruised, oppressed, chastised, he humbly endured the purifying sorrows of Babylon until the reproach was wiped away, the iniquity blotted out, the saving knowledge of God acquired. The Golden Age is now to open. Israel shall be the light of the world. From afar the nations will flock like an innumerable flight of doves, or countless droves of rams and dromedaries, or crowding fleets on the Western sea. The waste places of Zion shall be rebuilt, and reflect the rays of a sun that shall never set. All the citizens of this happy Jerusalem the delightful Beulah shall be righteous. Peace shall flow in a limpid stream. Bloodshed shall cease. The wolf and the lamb shall feed tranquilly together. The Gentiles shall join the people of God. Heaven and earth shall be made new, and all flesh bow to Yahveh's name.\*

The chapters just reviewed are often indicated by the title *II Isaiah* or *Deutero-Isaiah*. For three reasons they are deemed to be of different authorship from the book of *Isaiah* proper. (1) They allude to the ruined condition of Jerusalem and to the Exile in Chaldaea. (2) Their literary style is distinct. Among characteristic phrases are "to choose (i.e. God's choice of Israel)" "to break out into singing" "goodwill (God's)" "I am Yahveh and there is none else" etc. Several grammatical differences are also not ceable. (3) Yahveh is exalted to sublimer heights: he is now the creator of the Cosmos. The conception of the Servant, too, is unknown to the *Isaiah* of the eighth century.†

13 Job—When the poem of Job was written it seems almost impossible to say. By some critics it is referred to a writer in the Northern kingdom before the fall of Samaria

\* It is very doubtful if chapters iv. to lx. in which Israel is upbraided for past transgressions, or chapters lxi. to the end, are from the pen of the Poet of the Restoration.

† For this section generally, in addition to Stade, see Fénan's *History of Israel*, book vi.; Huenen's *Religion of Israel*, chapter vi.; Monflore's *Hibbert Lectures*, v. Dr. ver's "Introduction." The most recently discovered facts relating to Cyrus and the fall of Babylon are given in Sayce's *Higher Criticism on the Monuments*, chapter xl.



in 722; by others to the end of Josiah's reign. There are scholars who discern in it a certain kinship with the thoughts of the Poet of the Restoration, and some postpone its appearance till long after the exile. Scarcely any portion of the Old Testament has been so badly used by scribes and revisers. By careful examination of manuscripts, phraseology, and the course of the poetic argument, it has been found possible to disentangle the original composition, and to establish the fact that the whole episode of the young Elihu who interferes in Job's discussion with his friends is an interpolation. The book is entirely written in Hebrew verse, with the exception of the Prologue (portraying Job's prosperity and sudden calamities) and the Epilogue (describing his recovery of health and riches).\*

Job, the happy Syrian, lives in peace till the spiritual Satan or Adversary moves God to test his virtue by misfortune. When wealth and children are torn from him, and his body is leprous and putrid with elephantiasis, he sits upon the ground, his three friends watching him, and, with mingled defiance and grief, asks why he, who had lived uprightly and wished no man ill, should be overwhelmed with disaster. "Why wilt thou not look away from me?" he cried out to Yahveh, "nor leave me in peace while there is breath in my throat? Why hast thou set me up as a butt, so that I am become a target for thee?" He admits that God is all-powerful (Job's monotheism is clear enough), "He alone spreadeth out the heavens," and can work wonders without number, and sweep Job away with a tempest; but that is no answer to the riddle of human suffering. At some future day, too, he expects God will vindicate his innocence: "I know that my avenger liveth, though it be at the end upon my dust (*i.e.*, when I am dead); my witness will avenge these things, and a curse alight upon mine enemies."† But this will be too late. Job anticipates no future life: "Man dieth and lieth outstretched; he giveth

\* The original poem, translated by E. J. Dillon in the *Contemporary Review*, July, 1893, extends from Job iii. to xlii. 6, omitting the speeches of Elihu and Yahveh's description of the hippopotamus and crocodile in xl. and xli.

† This is the much misunderstood passage, translated in the old version, "I know that my Redeemer liveth," and popularly regarded as Scripture proof of the resurrection.

up the ghost, and where is he? Even when Yahveh bursts in on the whirlwind and appeals to all the sublime scenes and movements of nature, the dawn the mist, the seasons the lion the war horse the soaring hawk and contemptuously challenges him. If thou hast an arm like God if thou canst thunder with a voice like his deck thyself now with majesty and grandeur!" even then Job is only subdued by superior force. In dust and ashes he repents and meekly receives back his lost prosperity but the great quest on is left unsolved. A lame attempt was afterwards made to solve it by the writer who introduced the arguments of Elihu. This young man reproves Job for protesting against the acts of God and the constitution of the universe and roundly denounces him as a rebel without clearing up the issue. He does not elaborate any argument substantially different from those of the three friends, and it is remarkable that he is not mentioned in either the Prologue or Epilogue. The literary style of Elihu's speeches varies from that of the original poem and the Hebrew is more intermingled with Aramaic expressions.\*

**14. Aramaic.**—The Aramaic dialects current in Mesopotamia and Syria differed from Hebrew and Phoenician and from the language of the arrowhead inscriptions of Chaldaea. While the Persians predominated in Western Asia a form of Aramaic was used for official communications and by the people at large in the Syrian provinces, and the Jews gradually adopted this in place of Hebrew. By the beginning of the Christian era the change was complete. Portions of the books of Ezra and Daniel were written in Aramaic (often called Chaldee) and also through the Aramaic tongue were conveyed those commentaries or Targums, on the Hebrew scriptures which were at first passed from mouth to mouth and were committed to writing in the early Christian centuries †

**15 The Temple Rebuilt.**—The brilliant dreams of the Poet of the Restoration were unfulfilled. Troublous and harassed

\* In placing the book of Job at this point in the history of Israel I follow the authority of Canon Driver.

† Ar. cl. Aramaic in Ency. Brit.

was the condition of the returned exiles. No jewelled turrets rose on the hill of Zion. No troops of Gentile devotees came to bow the knee to Yahveh. The part of the ideal Servant was not played by the anxious Judæans. A Persian governor Sheshbazzar reminded them of the overlordship of Persia. Families had to be settled not without difficulty in their old dwelling places. An altar was erected on the site of the ruined Temple. The foundations of a new building for Yahveh may have been marked out. But the community was poor and the neighbouring Samaritans who though worshippers of Yahveh were not regarded with friendly eyes by the returned Jews were able to hinder the development of Judæa. The Samaritans were now of mixed race and possibly the descendants of the peasants left by Nebuchadnezzar in the south country were now partly alien in blood and they held grosser conceptions of religion than the home-coming exiles.

Sixteen years passed. Cyrus died in 529 and was succeeded by the Cambyses who conquered Egypt. Following on the brief rule of Pseudo Smerdis came Darius Hystaspis or Darius I (522). In his reign the Temple was rebuilt. By a curious error in the book of Ezra (iv) the delay in reconstructing Yahveh's house is made to last through the reigns of Ahasuerus (Xerxes) and Artaxerxes right on to the days of Darius. No, the Darius who followed Artaxerxes was Darius Nothus (424) and this mistake would place the rebuilding a century too late.\*

In 520 the new Temple was begun in earnest. In four years it was completed. Hymns of praise rang through the courts of the sanctuary. Visions of a nobler era glowed on the horizon. Some looked to Zerubbabel the prince as the inaugurator of a great royal line. Others fixed the eyes of hope on Joshua the High Priest. *Haggai* it was who roused the people to rebuild the Lord's house and he refers to unfruitful seasons and times of drought as tokens of Yahveh's displeasure at Judah's neglect. When however the work is finished the prophet speaks benignly and promises Yahveh's blessing and concludes with a startling forecast of a new kingdom of which Zerubbabel shall hold the sceptre rising on the ruins of pagan empires. *Zechariah*

\* See Sayce's *Herbert's Chronology and the Monuments*, chapter xi.

(chapters i to viii) belongs to the same period, but his utterances are the product of a very different intellectual mint from that of Haggai. He speaks in enigmas and parables. Apocalyptic visions flit across his pages. Mystic horses and chariots carry Yahveh's messengers to and fro. Judah is menaced by dreadful horns which are repelled by four mighty smiths. A parchment roll flies over the land denouncing judgment on evil doers. Sinful Israel is depicted as a woman carried in a cask to far-off Babylon or personified in Joshua, the priest, who in filthy attire is the object of the Satan's scorn, until Yahveh mercifully transforms his misery into resplendent purity. Joshua and Zerubbabel are represented as two olive-trees, yielding copious oil for the supply of the candlestick of Jerusalem. Happy scenes are opened up in the Holy City, the children play in the streets, the aged look on peacefully, the citizens love truth and live in fraternal peace.\*

At this point our view of Jerusalem, its Temple, and its people becomes obscured. Many years elapse before clear knowledge of its history is forthcoming. Meanwhile a great movement is preparing, and the hands that bring about the change are silently at work in Babylonia.†

**16. The Priestly Code**—Among the large number of Hebrews who remained in Babylon engaged in trade, attached to the court or dwelling in groups of their own nationality,‡ were many priests. The religious fervour which in the prophets had culminated in the gospel of a golden age when Yahveh should reign supreme over the world, found a far different manifestation in the priestly circle. It was felt that for the people at large Yahvehism must clothe itself in ritual custom and constituted authority. A history of mankind must be written showing

\* Chapters ix to xi of Zechariah as well as x + 9 are perhaps pre-exilic touched up by post-exilic editors. They denounce Israel's foes the Philistines Egypt Assyria etc. Chapters xii to xvi which prophesy a splendid triumph for the house of David are probably later than Zechariah's age.

† Kuenen's *Peligion of Israel* chapter vi. Montefiore's *Hibbert Lectures*, vi. Driver's *Introduction*.

‡ These were known as the *Colah* or *Exile* as distinguished from the *Med nah* or Jews who returned to Palestine.

how the race of Israel was chosen out by divine grace, how it passed through the afflictions of Egypt, and how, after the deliverance by Moses, Yahveh gave his people a full, elaborate, and peculiar scheme of worship and priesthood. The diligence of European scholars has revealed this document, and, from the miscellaneous constituents of the Pentateuch and book of Joshua, has disentangled the *Priests' Code*, which was penned in Babylonia, and which gave Jewdom a new Torah (law) in the name of the revered Moses. It consists of about 85 chapters, some eleven in Genesis, nineteen in Exodus, the whole of Leviticus (including the Law of Holiness; see p. 76), twenty-eight chapters in Numbers, and fragments of Joshua. While the Yahvist legend is occupied with the romantic story of the Fall and Paradise Lost, P. (=Priests' Code) goes more soberly and systematically to work. The Jewish mind has now become accustomed to the thought of a creative power, such as appeals to Job from the marvels of nature, or inspires the song of the Poet of the Restoration. Accordingly the chronicle begins with the Six-Days' Work, in which primitive tradition is arrayed in the grave, stately language of the new Yahvehism of the Babylonian exiles. No mention of Adam's fall is made. Mankind becomes corrupt, and earth is purged by the Flood. From Noah's race the virtuous stock of Shem is selected. Out of the descendants of Shem God chooses Abraham. Of the children of Abraham he bestows his favour on Isaac. Isaac's sons are Esau and Jacob; Esau falls from grace by marrying alien women; Jacob is blessed because he obediently takes a wife of Abrahamic blood. Elohim makes himself known to Abraham and Jacob as El-Shaddai ("God Almighty" in the English version), and to Moses as Yahveh, a name not used before in P., but kept in reserve for the crisis of the Exodus. To Jacob's posterity Yahveh reveals his holy Torah at Sinai.

Five salient points may be noticed in the priestly character of the Code:—

1. *Place of Worship*.—While the Yahvist permits altars to be built in many places, and Deuteronomy commands that in one spot alone shall the public ceremonial be conducted, P. invents and describes this central sanctuary in the form of the Tabernacle, or Ohel Moed, a movable

temple which was carried about by the pilgrim Hebrews in the wilderness. The Israelites may have guarded their sacred shrine in a tent, but were they likely to have erected in an inhospitable desert, a splendid structure, adorned with artistic pillars hangings and gold and silver appurtenances? Besides, though many sanctuaries are referred to in the books of Judges and Samuel these records never speak of the Obel Moed\*. The ark which P makes inseparable from the Tabernacle is, according to Samuel quite freely borne about from place to place. When David houses the ark at Zion he actually pitches a special tent, and in the early years of Solomon's reign the people are said to have sacrificed not at any sacred Tabernacle but on "high places."

2 *Sacrifice*—P knows nothing of sacrifice before Israel reaches Mount Sinai. All the stories of Noah, Abraham, Balaam etc. offering sacrifices belong to J.E. Noah is allowed (in P) to kill beasts for food and the Passover lamb is eaten at the Exodus but not as an offering to the deity. We find accounts, in the historical books of Gideon, Saul, Elijah and Naaman sacrificing to Yahveh but with no reference to the imaginary Tabernacle. Nor did the host of the prophets who came before P attach strict importance to sacrifice. "To obey is better than sacrifice," cries Samuel. Amos declaims against morning sacrifices unaccompanied by sincere worship. Hosea says that Yahveh spurns the offerings of Ephraim. Isaiah's God is weary of the fat of rams. In Micah 6.7 Yahveh rebukes the glib formalist who seeks to please him with slaughtered words. No doubt sacrifice was a rite that went back to prehistoric ages, but before the Exile it does not appear to must be treated as a peculiarly Mosaic institution. A striking authority—in the Priests Code is the altar of incense, yet

P the Bible never speaks of incense till the times

The older sacrifice was a meal eaten before the altar in a social manner. But in P the burnt-offering takes the prominent place—the whole animal in this case, prophesied a splendid offering on the altar. And the antique concept of the altar is preserved in Zechariah's age.

† Ku-nen-si-el-gu.  
Lectures vi. Dr. C. S. Lewis, *Tabernacle of the congregation* in 1 Sam. ii. 22.

\* These were known as Wellhausen and is absent from the Septuagint and Jews who return.

of familiar communion with the deity by means of the sacrificial meal yields now to the idea that the offering is a propitiation for sin, whether of an individual or of the community. Sacrifice becomes now the official priestly mode of purging sin. The psychological and emotional view of sin is unveiled in the Psalms, which express the soul's struggles with temptation and spiritual darkness.

3. *The Sacred Feasts.*—The whole trio of feasts had a natural source in the events of the pastoral and agricultural year. Passover was the spring celebration, when the merry rustics offered the firstlings of the flocks to the gods; and later custom had grafted on to this occasion a memorial of the Exodus from Egypt. At the Feast of Weeks the first-fruits of harvest were presented to Yahveh. The Feast of Tabernacles was a jocund open-air assemblage at the close of vintage and corn reaping. But a new turn is now given by P. to the eating of unleavened bread at the Passover. It used to be practised in memory of the hasty flight of Israel, which gave no time for the proper baking of bread. But P. (Exodus xii. 1-20) tells how the ceremony was deliberately enjoined beforehand; and the killing of the firstling lamb is not a reminder of the slaughter of the Egyptian first-born, but it is formally commanded before Yahveh begins his fatal passage. And it has been already remarked how H. (incorporated into P.) makes the Feast of Tabernacles a devout commemoration of the booths which sheltered the Chosen People in the Wilderness. All these changes tend to magnify Yahveh's continuous intervention in Israel's career, and to suppress the purely natural basis of the festivals. But this modification of ancient ceremonials did not satisfy the priestly desire to solemnise the public approaches to Yahveh. A new institution was added. The Day of Atonement had, indeed, been briefly recommended in the Law of Holiness. It is now invested with extraordinary dignity, and marked off as the holiest day of the year. The Talmud calls it Yoma—*i.e.*, the day. The tenth day of the seventh month is not now to be merely a day of penitential affliction. On this day the High-priest, carrying holy fire and a vessel of bullock's blood, enters the inner sanctuary, and sprinkles with blood the mercy seat of the ark. A second time he glides into the awful chamber, and performs a like ceremony with the blood of a goat. Blood,

once regarded as food for the gods is now a means of expiation at the sight of which Yahveh becomes reconciled to his people and absolves them from uncleanness. A second goat (*Azazel*) upon whose head the sins of the nation are laid by the High Priest's hands, is led away to the uninhabited wilderness, and there let loose. In later usage the goat was beaten by the people and then pushed over a precipice.\* Parallel customs are met with among savages. In Central India the natives hope to remove cholera by daubing a chicken goat or pig with venom and driving it away. Some of the South American Indians would load a llama with the clothes of sick people and send it into the mountains. Other uncultured tribes in various parts of the world will expel disease and misfortune and sin by means of boats earthen pots etc. let adrift on sea or river. Or a human scapegoat is chosen and after being insulted and scourged is driven out of the city or slain †

A deeper shade was imparted to the sanctity of the Sabbath. No longer is it a pleasant leisure day, as when the prophet Hosea enumerated it among seasons of mirth (ii 7). No man must gather sticks, none may kindle a fire or cook food. Death is decreed against the sinful wretch who performs any manner of work on this divine day.

4 *The Priests and Levites*—The tribe of Levi is set apart as a sacred clan which must form a kind of body guard round Yahveh's Tabernacle and separating it from the common multitude (Leviticus iii). But within the tribe itself a wall of partition is fixed. The Levites had been placed by Ezekiel on a lower level than the true clergy whom he called the Zadokites, Zadok dating from the reign of David. The distinction is now rendered sharper by deriving the priestly caste from Aaron the brother of Moses. And as the tier of Aaronites rises above the Levites so, above all towers the figure of the High Priest. He wears the ephod and the Urim and Thummim. The names of the twelve tribes are engraven on the jewels of his square breastplate (see pp. 35 and 50). Adorned with stars and clothed in gold embroidered purple he seems to be created by exalted

\* See his Dictionary of the Bible "article" Azazel.

† Examples given in Exodus 32:1-6. Golden Bough chap. xviii.



Israel as a spiritual king who shall take the place of the dethroned monarchs of Judæa. The secular king was, so to speak, spiritualised into the High-priest, just as in time to come the High-priest was spiritualised into the Messiah.

5. *The Endowment of the Clergy.*—Deuteronomy permitted the people to make a banquet before Yahveh of the firstlings of their herds. But P. (Numbers xviii. 17, 18) orders the Israelite to offer his firstlings to Yahveh and the priest. All the flesh of the sin and trespass offering, and the bulk of the flour and oil of the meat offering, now fall to the lot of the "sons of Aaron." Deuteronomy allotted to the priest the head, maw, and shoulder of the thank-offering beast. P. bestows on him the choicer portions of the breast and leg. Deuteronomy directed that the tithe of fruit and cereals should be brought to the sanctuary and publicly eaten; or it might even be sold, and the money spent in meat and wine; only, every third year, the tithe was to be distributed to the Levite, the widow, and the orphan. But P. requires that a tithe of both agricultural produce and cattle shall be allotted to the sacerdotal caste. In short, the ecclesiastics are to receive the sin and trespass offerings, the hides of the burnt offerings, the larger part of the vegetable dues, and the tithes. The Levites are to be provided with a tithe-revenue, like the priests; but out of their tithe they are bound to select a tenth part as a gift to the sons of Aaron.\* P. goes so far as to enrich the Levitical tribe with forty-eight cities and environing plots of land (Numbers xxv.). In the early history of Israel there occurs no sign of these cities; the priests dwelt among the community, chiefly as inmates of households for whom they administered the rites of religion. Deuteronomy plainly states (x. 9; xviii. 1) that Levi has no share in the national territory; and the statement is curiously repeated by P. (Numbers xviii. 20). In fact, even after the age of Ezra and Nehemiah, no attempt was made to hand over special townships to the priestly caste. Probably, the legend of the Levitical cities, as also of the Cities of Refuge

\* In the first Christian century certain High-priests monopolised the whole of the tithes, so that a number of poor priests died of want. Josephus, "Antiquities," book xv., chapter viii. 8.

(see p. 13), had its foundation in the existence of primitive holy places.\*

Deuteronomy had laid no stress upon circumcision, and even put a slight upon it by exhorting Israel to *circumcise the foreskin of the heart*. P., however, refers the ritual to a solemn injunction given by Elohím to Abraham, and forbids the *uncircumcised* to share in the Passover feast. And a yet sterner spirit of exclusiveness is manifested in the story of the slaughter of the Midianites by the army of Moses—cities are burned, the men, boys, and married women slain, and only the virgins kept alive for the lustful behests of the warriors (Numbers xxxi.). As likely as not these massacres were the fancy-drawn pictures of the writer of the Priests' Code, and served to show his hatred of heathendom.

No small part of P. is concerned with the laws of taboo, especially in connection with (1) Unclean animals. A study of the customs of savages and of ancient peoples shows that certain classes of animals are regarded as divine, and may only be eaten on rare and solemn occasions. They are totems, possessing a subtle kinship with the men who worship and protect them, and, when eaten, are supposed to communicate beneficial influences to the eater. In this spirit swine were devoutly partaken of by the Harranians, the dog by the Carthaginians, and fish by the Syrians. As, ordinarily, these creatures were forbidden food, they came to be classed as unclean; so that a peculiar relationship existed between sacredness and uncleanness. In Leviticus xi. a list of forbidden animals is given, including the mouse and swine. And we know, from the book of Isaiah (lxv. 3; lxvi. 3, 17), that the barbaric practice of religiously eating the swine and mouse survived long after the prophetic Yahvehism had arisen.† (2) Sexual functions. The menstrual process, normal and hygienic as it is, appears strange and supernatural to the primitive mind. Among savages girls at the approach of puberty are suspended in hammocks, shielded from the sun, secluded from public

\* The five points just considered are treated fully in Wellhausen's "History of Israel," chapters i. to v.

† On this subject see W. R. Smith's "Religion of the Semites," Lect. viii. and Note C; Frazer's "Golden Bough," chapter iii., sections 10, 11, 12.

gaze, and, in numerous ways, treated as if centres of noxious forces.\* Such ideas are preserved in the regulations of P. with regard to the uncleanness of women during their periods, or at child-bearing (Leviticus xii., xv.). A relic of these remote customs even appears in the yet extant ceremony of the Churching of Women, by way of purification after delivery. (3). Leprosy. Minute instructions are laid down for the cleansing of the leper (Lev. xiv.); and, when the purging of the blood from the disease is considered to be complete, a bird is let fly into the open fields, carrying with it the pollution. Similarly, the Battas of Sumatra set a swallow free after praying for the removal of the curse from a childless woman; and, among the Miaotse of China, when a lad reaches the age of seven, his father makes a straw kite, and sends it floating away on the wind, so that it may bear away all evil from his child.† (4) Other taboos relate to the touching of corpses, the washing of blood-sprinkled garments, etc.

Not only is P. to be singled out by its systematic narrative and its unique sacerdotal code, but by its special phraseology. Some examples may be cited:—God (Elohim), not Yahveh, with two exceptions, until Ex. vi. 2; "swarming (creeping) things," "generations," "expire" (a peculiar Hebrew expression for dying); "this self-same day," "after their families," "congregation" (of Israelites); "according to the command of Yahveh," etc. In fact, more than fifty words or phrases have been detected in P. which are absent from, or rarely occur in, other portions of the Hexateuch.

The opinion that P. was written between 520 and 458 is based on (1) Its evident advance upon the religious conceptions and practices of JE. and Deuteronomy; (2) The remarkable silence of Hebrew history on the subject of the priestly laws laid down in P. as proceeding from the mouth of Yahveh; (3) Its drawing of a deeper division between priests and Levites than is observed even in Ezekiel's sketch of the ideal Jewish state. Ezekiel (xliv.) appears to regard the Levites as men who had once been Yahveh's recognised ministers, but who, for their sinful worship of idols, were

\* Details may be seen in "Golden Bough," chapter iv.

† "Golden Bough," chapter iii.

degraded to a meaner position, whereas P sanctifies only the line of Aaron to the priesthood, and makes the rest of the tribe of Levi subordinate to the priestly family from the outset (Numbers xviii 2 etc) \*

17 **Ezra and Nehemiah.**—On the borders of Chaldaea there gathered in the year 458 a crowd of Jews consisting of women children and 1068 men. After a solemn fast by the river of Ahava they struck their tents and set out for Jerusalem under the leadership of Ezra the "sopher" (scribe) and carrying gold and silver as pious contributions for the new Temple. The smoke of a great holocaust of bullocks and rams celebrated their safe arrival in the Holy City †. Ezra's dreams of enhancing the splendour of the Temple service were dissolved by the stern necessity of social reform. The children of the Medinah had fallen into a lax fashion of marriage. Many a Jewish household was under the influence of a Gentile mother. Smitten with horror at this intermingling with the heathen Ezra hurriedly convened a national assemblage at Jerusalem. A furious downpour of rain had terrified the people. Ezra's passionate protests transmuted this terror into a repentant fervour. A number of aristocrats and priests set an example by breaking up their homes and sending away the wives who were polluted by heathen blood. But the puritanical fire soon died down. Many of Ezra's countrymen offered a sullen resistance to his reforming zeal. The book of Ezra which closes with an account of the repudiation of the alien wives should properly be terminated by chapter iv 6-23. From this misplaced section it appears that the Samaritans and other enemies of the Jews had led King Artaxerxes to suspect disloyal designs in the attempted rebuilding of the city walls. By orders from Persia the work was suddenly checked. The broken ramparts of the

Holy City were a derision to the heathen. Could the Poet of the Restoration have looked on forlorn and dishevelled Zion he would have been astounded at the contrast between the poor reality and his golden visions.

After the lapse of several sad years Nehemiah favourite cup bearer to King Artaxerxes, visited Jerusalem by leave of his royal master. The Jewish courtier was as energetic as devout. Making a midnight tour of the city he surveyed the moonlit ruins and planned out the work of reconstruction. To a council of elders he opened his design and appealed for co-operation. A marvellous activity was displayed. The whole populace seemed to turn masons. Sneering Sanballat and carping Tobiah hung round the city but dared venture on no interference with these strenuous builders who plied the trowel with one hand and grasped a sword in the other. Nehemiah paced the battlements a trumpeter by his side ever on the alert against attack. Nor was he less eager for social and religious reform. When the rich were entangling their poor neighbours in the meshes of usury and mortgage Nehemiah called a public meeting rebuked the spirit of avarice, and obtained pledges that these exactions should cease. Out of his private purse he maintained the dignity of his official position and kept an open and generous table. The walls were completed after fifty-two days' toil and dedicated with processions and the chanting of choirs. And now Nehemiah seized the apt occasion to strike a great blow for religion—not the religion of Deutero Isaiah but the new sacerdotalism of the Priestly Code. Ezra the Sopher vigorously assisted.

On an autumn morning as soon as the day broke, a great multitude stood waiting before the Watergate. A high wooden pulpit had been reared. There stood Ezra supported by Nehemiah and a group of priests and Levites. Sonorously and distinctly he read out and explained the Book of the Law—a document which all the evidences indicate as consisting of or at any rate containing that Priestly Code which was intended to furnish a fresh version of the national history and a new religious constitution.\*

\* The Code has of course been cut in various places to fit in with the Yahvist and Elohist portions of the Hexateuch and it was probably incomplete when Ezra publicly recited it.

Right on till noon the crowd listened raptly, and then Nehemiah sent them home to end the day in glad converse and entertainment. A gay celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles followed soon to dissolve into the singular transformation of a solemn fast. Clad in sackcloth and strewing earth upon their heads the penitent Israelites once again swore to put away the half-breeds who stained the purity of the Jewish race, and the chief members of the community formally signed their names to a covenant with Yahveh vowing obedience to the ritual and holy observances enjoined in the Code (444 B.C.)

The reformation however did not advance uninterruptedly. Nehemiah was recalled to Persia (433), and on his return to Jerusalem he was grieved to find much of his work undone. The once-outlawed Tobiah was actually dwelling in chambers within the Temple enclosure. Indignantly the cup-bearer cast out both Tobiah and his household goods. The Levites had been treated with neglect, and had withdrawn to the rural districts. Nehemiah brought them back and induced the people to renew the regular tithes. Sabbath trading was strictly put down. Foreign wives were once again chased from the community. In the last lines of the unbending puritan's memoirs (Neh. xiii. 31) we hear him repeating his favourite though somewhat egotistic prayer 'Remember me O my God, for good.'

To the period just glanced at may appertain the prophecy of *Malachi* in which the Jews are reproached for profaning the sacred name and altar for deserting Israelite wives and consorting with heathen women and for withholding tithes. Yahveh he declares, will send a Messenger Elijah-like, to rebuke the national sins and purify the land from vice and irreligiosity. The day of chastisement will be a terror to the wicked but the names of the faithful are treasured up in Yahveh's book of remembrance.

The expulsion of heretics and half-breeds from Jerusalem wrought a strange sequel. One of them Manasseh, had married a daughter of Sanballat. By Sanballat's authority a rival temple was raised, in Yahveh's honour on Mount Gerizim in Samaria, there Manasseh officiated as High priest, and many men who had left

Jerusalem in discontent, joined the Samaritan opposition.\*

We are now entering on a period when the Priestly Code dominated the Jewish soul. Hebrew religion had displayed two great tendencies, the Prophetic and Broad, embodied in such writings as those of the Restoration Poet, and the Legal and Priestly. For some centuries Prophetism smouldered low, and Judaism centred round the Law. The Law was a conserving force; Prophetism an innovating force. The Law rested on the past; Prophetism looked into the future.

✓ 18. From Nehemiah to the Death of Judas Maccabæus.—Persia held sway over Judæa till the rise of Alexander the Great (332). Wars between Persia and Egypt no doubt produced waves of agitation through the little Hebrew community. All along the seaboard of Western Asia the nations revolted against Artaxerxes III. Ochus (359–338). The Jews took part in the outbreak. The Persians heavily punished the rebels; and to the shores of the far Caspian and to Babylonia troops of Israelites were driven into exile. Little else is known of the fortunes of Judæa during these years, except one unhappy episode. Within the precincts of the Temple, Jochanan slew his brother Jeshua in a quarrel as to their right to the High-priesthood. Disorder among the Jews was followed by Gentile profanation, and the feet of Persian soldiers soiled the courts of Yahveh's holy dwelling.†

The course of Judaism was no doubt affected by its contact with *Zoroastrianism*, the national faith of Persia. Through the Diaspora‡ of Babylon the doctrines of the Mazdean creed found entry into the Hebrew consciousness.

\* The event is narrated, though wrongly dated, in Josephus's "Antiquities of the Jews," book xi., chapters 7 and 8. For this section generally see Montefiore's "Hibbert Lectures," vi.; Kuenen's "Religion of Israel," chapter viii.; Driver's "Introduction;" Graetz's "History of the Jews," vol. i., chapter xix. Graetz, however, lags behind the best criticism. Nothing has been said in this section concerning the Great Synagogue, which Professor W. R. Smith considers a fiction; see his O. T. in Jewish Church, Lect. vi.

† Josephus, "Antiquities," book xi., chapter 7.

‡ The Diaspora were the scattered settlements of Jews outside Palestine.

In both religions the supreme Lord—Ahura-Mazda or Yahveh—is encircled by celestial spirits, and served by angels. Angels figure in the book of Zechariah, and in Daniel they assume the function of guardians of nations. Satan, the accusing angel, appears in Zechariah and Job; and, still later, the writer of Chronicles gives him an evil aspect as the spirit who tempted David to number Israel. In the legend of Tobit we meet with Asmodeus, the evil spirit. The belief in an enemy of God and man was in all likelihood quickened by Persian influence; for Zoroastrianism had created in *Angro-Mainyus* a personification of all darkness, pain, imperfection, and sin. Both Judaism and Mazdeism gave special exaltation to ethics; both laid stress on cleanliness as a religious rite; both abjured the worship of images. The Parsees were accustomed to meet for the reading of their sacred books, the repetition of prayers, the chanting of holy songs; and the Jews developed similar practices in the institution of the synagogue.\* Synagogues were numerous even before the Maccabæan age. The order of proceeding at these devout assemblies included a confession of faith in God; the reading and exposition of the Torah in regular sections; brief prayers; and closing benedictions. In yet another feature Judaism was parallel with Zoroastrianism—viz., the doctrine of immortality. Gradually the murky caverns of Sheol melted into the glories of a future life, which would be attained through the resurrection of the body. In this direction, however, Judaism advanced cautiously and slowly. The belief in the resurrection was not matured till after the Maccabæan times.†

The Biblical literature was freely added to during the Persian period. A large portion of the Psalms were composed (the subject will be recurred to presently). A prophetic discourse, now embedded in Isaiah (xxiv. to xxvii.), describes widespread desolation in the earth; but from out of the calamitous gloom emerges a splendid vision of

\* "Synagogue" is Greek for assembly, and is the equivalent term for the Hebrew "Beth ha-Keneseth."

† As an aid to the formation of a mental picture of Jewish environment in the age now under review, the reader might do well to inspect the handsome illustrations of architecture and ornament given in Perrot and Chipiez's "Ancient Art in Persia."



Yahveh's holy mountain in Judah, and of a redeemed multitude, who rejoice that death is swallowed up in victory, and who are kept in perfect peace within the bulwarks of Yahveh's grace and strength. The Chokhmah literature\* was expanded by additions to the book of *Proverbs*. The editing and re-casting of this book in the Persian period indicates that the Hebrew intellect was active, not only in the development of a national ritual, but also in the expression of practical ethics. Of course, the proverbs themselves were the growth of centuries. Tradition made Solomon the author of a large part of this collection of homely wisdom. Some of his sayings may be included; but it is almost absurd to suppose him the writer of such maxims as, "Better is little with the fear of Yahveh than great treasure and trouble therewith." The book of *Proverbs* falls into eight sections: (1) The Introduction, chapters i. to ix. (2) The "Proverbs of Solomon," x. to xvii. 16, dealing with a wide variety of domestic and social experiences—prudence and stupidity, industry and sloth, filial obedience, discretion of speech, the misery and shame which form the natural sequel of knavery and arrogance, the evils caused by quarrelsome wives (nothing is said of the uncompanionable husband!), etc. A slight leaven of religious sentiment occurs in such remarks as "The eyes of Yahveh are in every place, beholding the evil and the good" (3) The "Words of the Wise," xxii. 17 to xxiv. 22, directed against sweating the poor, gluttony, wine-bibbing, etc. (4) Further sayings of the wise, xxiv. 23 to 34, condemning the sluggard. (5) "Proverbs of Solomon" copied out by Hezekiah's scribes, xxv. to xxix., characterised by liveliness of metaphor—the bringer of good news is like refreshing snow dropped in the tired harvester's drink, the man who treats an enemy generously heaps coals of fire upon his head, the eloquent libertine is an earthen pot plated with silver, and wholesome are the wounds dealt by a friend's reproof. (6) The sayings of Agur, xxx., which are flavoured with a little cynicism, as in the sarcastic list of the four mysteries—an

\* Chokhmah=Wisdom. Job, *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, and *Sirach* are embraced under this term, which implies reflection on the characteristics and problems of human nature. With regard to *Proverbs*, see pp. 64, 70, and 72.

The Syrian king Antiochus Epiphanes\* watched the commotion from afar, and calculated on the chances of converting Judæa to Greek customs and Greek theology. Antiochus was a man of undisciplined and erratic character. In him the jester and the despot met. At one time we see him carrying bagpipes and playing the fool among the crowds of Antioch, at another furiously leading his hosts to an attack on Egypt. When the Romans bade him keep his hands off Egypt he fell back upon Judæa and set himself to the impossible task of stamping out the Jewish religion. Success seemed attainable through the aid of the Hellenising Jews. These were led by Menelaus, who for a sum of money purchased from Antiochus the permission to call himself High priest. From the fortress of Akra which overlooked the gymnasium and the Temple the pretended High priest and his followers could threaten the Chassids who clung to the native creed and worship. Antiochus fell upon Jerusalem in 169. Many citizens were slain in the streets, and the Syrian soldiers burst into the Temple, pillaged its sacred treasury and carried off the golden furniture. The Levitical ritual was forbidden. Mothers who circumcised their infants were killed and hung with their dead babes on the city walls. In forced mirth the Chassids were compelled to dance, with ivy-crowned heads in the procession of Dionysus. The Sabbath was made a day of noisy pleasure. Those who could escape from Jerusalem fled to the mountains and caves. Menelaus, secure in his castle enjoyed his hour of triumph. The next year (December, 168) Judæa sent up a cry of horror when an altar to Jupiter was raised on the platform of the Temple altar of burnt offering. Swine were killed in the holy precincts and the blood sprinkled in the inner sanctuary. Harlots were housed in the chambers of the Temple of Yahveh. But the Hebrew anger slow to express itself was now rising to a fatal heat. Old Eleazar was scourged to death rather than eat swine's flesh and the legend of the mother and the seven sons done to death by fire (2 Macc vii) though manifestly a romance reflects the stubborn temper of the Hebrew resistance. The fire

\* He belonged to the Seleucidæ—the line of kings of the family of Seleucus—who gained possession of Syria in 312.

of revolt was kindled in Modein, a hill-country village in sight of the Mediterranean. The aged Mattathias slew a Jew who was performing sacrifice to a Greek deity, and then hurried to the more secluded mountain district, where a host of Chassids joined him. When he shortly afterwards died, he left the work of the holy war to his son, Judas. All the ardent Jewish youth gathered about him, overturning Gentile altars, shouting defiance to Antiochus. In a series of victories over the Syrian generals Judas won the name of Maccabæus, the Hammer. In a sudden onset at Beth-horon he put to flight the army of Seron. Again, at Beth-zur, he repulsed the much larger forces of Lysias. In the lull which followed Judas hastened to Jerusalem, and, though the fort of Akra was still held by a Syrian garrison, he swept the foreign innovations out of the Temple, and restored the priesthood and Levitical choirs to their places (November, 165)—an event which Judaism has ever since commemorated in the annual "Feast of Lights," with its blaze of candles in house and synagogue. Even against the Edomites and Ammonites, and the Greek cities of Gilead, Judas waged successful war. After the death of Antiochus (164) Judas laid siege to the citadel. Lysias approached Jerusalem, bringing elephants in his train. But a rival leader, Philip, menaced Lysias in turn, and their strife resulted in the grant of religious freedom to the much-suffering Hebrews. Menelaus was put to death, but was followed by Alkimus, who placed himself at the head of the Hellenising party. Nor did Judas rely altogether upon the pious enthusiasm of his Assidæan regiments. He sent ambassadors to Rome, and sought alliance with that power which was now spreading its influence into Asia. But Rome could not save the hero from impending fate. The Syrians bore down upon Judæa once again. Forsaken by most of his followers, Judas made a despairing stand at Elasa, and died fighting (160). The patriot soldier, who had worn his breast-plate as a giant, and faced the foe "like a lion's whelp roaring for his prey," was buried at Modein. But the martyrdoms of the Maccabæan days bore fruit. They decided the destiny of Judaism. The religion of the Torah was henceforth to make no pact with Gentile modes of worship. What Maccabæus had done, all Jewdom would do when the dreadful summons

came. Death would be preferred to a renunciation of the Law of God.\*

During the period just considered many a scribe retired from the turmoil of the street, and the disputes of the synagogue<sup>u</sup> was adding scroll after scroll to the literature which posterity was to account sacred. About 300 B.C. a Levitical author, perhaps one of the temple singers, compiled and edited the books of *Chronicles*, *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, which form a fairly continuous history. A likeness of style runs through the three books. Peculiar grammatical constructions occur. Characteristic phrases are abundantly to strengthen oneself expressed by names, Hear me, offer freely etc. The word abundantly or greatly denotes a special fondness of the writer for patriotic exaggeration. He delights in large figures. David amasses 100 000 talents of gold and 1 000 000 talents of silver, Solomon makes silver as common as stones. King Abijah's army slaughters 500 000 men of Israel. Amaziah has 300 000 warriors and hires 100 000 auxiliaries from Israel etc. Alone among the Old Testament books that of *Chronicles* uses the term Midrash (2 Chron. xxiv. 27 story or commentary<sup>v</sup>) which came to mean an edifying treatment of some historical incident. The *Chronicle* itself takes this line. Saul dies because he consulted witches, the Egyptian Shishak was allowed to invade Judah because of the people's neglect of Yahveh, the wicked Manasseh repents, and is restored to his throne, and in other instances a new moral turn is given to the narrative of the older books of Samuel and Kings. Above all prominence is given to the Temple, its holy priests, its attendant Levites, the choirs arrayed in white and making music with cymbal, harp and trumpet. In the book of Ezra the Persian King's decree and part of the narrative (ii. 8-3 and vi. 1 to vi. 18) are rendered in Aramaic. In the latter chapters

\* The historical narrative above summarised, detailed in Graetz vol. I, chaps. xx to xxv. Kuenen's *Peligion of Israel* chaps. ix and x. Dean Stanley's *Jewish Church*. Lecture xl. Schürer's *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*. Division I, vol. I. First Period. Monographs. Hilbert Lectures, vii. Stade's *Geschichte*. Part I. and vii. (by Oskar Holtzmann). Josephus *Antiquities* book x. The two books of the Maccabees in the Apocrypha should also be consulted.

some passages in which Ezra speaks in the first person—"I proclaimed a fast etc.—may have been taken from manuscripts left by the Sophers himself. So also portions of the book of Nehemiah appear to be reproduced from the cup-bearer's memoirs.

About the year 200 B.C. an ethical treatise largely modelled on the book of Proverbs was written by Jesus the son of Sirach or Ben Sira, the work being usually known as the Wisdom of Jesus or Ecclesiasticus. Some seventy years later Ben Sira's grandson translated the Wisdom into Greek. The author was a well-travelled man, experienced and observant. Four points in the Wisdom may be adverted to: (1) The theology. Yahveh is the universal God and creator of all things. Very picturesquely the author describes natural scenes—the shining heaven, the snowfall, the icy breastplate of the lakes. God's loving kindness and compassion are great and he is accessible by the prayer of the humble which pierces the clouds. It is well to sacrifice, but Yahveh disdains the hypocritical gifts of the wicked. Ecclesiasticus shows a mere trace of angelology and its allusion to Satan is only casual. (2) Wisdom is idealised as in Proverbs into a celestial figure, the daughter of God, born before the earth, flourishing like a beauteous cedar, fragrant as cinnamon. But it is a wisdom which is restrained by an agnostic humility. The greater part of God's works are hid, and man should not seek out things that are beyond his strength. (3) Ethically Ben Sira is practical and sensible. Much useful and prudent counsel he offers on the advantages of a discreet tongue, modesty of spirit and demeanour, honourable friendship. Among other proverbs we meet the popular saying: "He that toucheth pitch shall be defiled." Of all blessings none is counted more precious than a virtuous wife, and of the plagues which afflict human life, an evil-minded woman is perhaps the direst. Heavily charged with caustic are Ben Sira's remarks on feminine scolds. We should not fail to notice how stress is laid upon the sensuality of even a glance ("Be ashamed to look upon a harlot—to gaze upon another man's wife") and upon magnanimity of temper—"Forgive thy neighbour the hurt that he hath done unto thee, so shall thy sins also be forgiven when thou prayest." The precept is a clear anticipation of the prayer: "Forgive us our trespasses."

is we forgive them that trespass against us" Elsewhere, too, this Jewish moralist insists upon salvation by works "To depart from wickedness is a thing pleasing to Y<sup>h</sup>veh, and to forsake unrighteousness is a propitiation" (4) Historical reflections At the close of the book is given : review of the national religious heroes Moses, Aaron Joshua Samuel, and other prophets, the last of the series being Simon the Just, the High priest (300-270 B.C.) who had fortified and decorated the Temple

A strange apparition in the field of Hebrew literature is the book of *Kohелеth* (the Preacher, or Great Orator, or Ecclesiastes, written about 200 B.C.) *Kohелеth* has seen much of the world, and when its brilliant promises have faded into grey disappointment he sits down in old age and commits to writing his sad and cynical meditations Assuming the guise of King Solomon, he passes in review his imperial labours and luxurious pleasures, his vineyards, his well-stocked pastures, his splendid harem his musicians, his treasury What is the profit of it all? Death and dust are the end The fool, the philosopher and the beast, all march to one grave All is vanity, and a pursuit after wind Nevertheless, in the journey to the inevitable tomb and the chilly caverns of Sheol one may as well live with a certain dignity and discretion eat and drink with a moderate relish, refrain from meddling with politics preserve an equilibrium of temper, neither giving way to anger nor evincing pious zeal, and preferring gravity to laughter Above all one should avoid playing the fool This perhaps, is all the satisfaction that *Kohелеth* can find in existence—that one is not obliged to be a chattering block head This is true, even though it is also true that the race is not to the swift nor do riches fall to the lot of the wise nor can one stay the ruin of the human body the enfeebling of the knees the dimming of the eyes the whitening of the hair the breaking of the pitcher at the fountain God is in heaven no doubt (*Kohелеth* never says Y<sup>h</sup>veh), but it is of no use to pry into his purposes A later editor tried to gloss over this scandalous indifference to religion by adding the closing exhortation to 'Fear God and keep his commandments' The Hebrew of this book is strongly tinged with Aramaic and contains a number of phrases similar to those used in *Chronicles*, *Ezra*, *Nehemiah* and *Esther*

of her uncle, Mordecai with the scheming courtier, Haman the plots of Haman and his ignominious end on the gallows, and the great massacre of more than 75 000 Jew haters—we perceive the authors design to shed a lustre on the Hebrew race and invent a glorious origin for the feast of Purim. There is reason to believe that the tale is based on some Babylonian legend. The name Mordecai curiously suggests Mardak the Babylonian deity and 'Esther' is extremely like Istar the Babylonian goddess. A clay tablet recording a contract and impressed with the name of Mordechai, has been discovered in Babylonia. In Esther iv 26 the term translated 'letter' is a word derived from the language of the cuneiform inscriptions.

Mainly founded on Chronicles Ezra Nehemiah was the *First Book of Esdras* (or III Esdras in the Vulgate) which is placed first in modern editions of the Apocrypha. It was written in Greek perhaps in the Maccabæan period perhaps later. Opening with an account of Josiah's great passover (see p. 67) it runs on to the Exile and return the reading of the Law by Ezra and the struggles of the re-builders of the Temple. Some interest is added to the history of the re-building by a curious story of three young men who tried to gain the favour of King Darius by the composition of epigrams the winner in the contest being the young Jew Zerubbabel. He ingeniously argued that women were stronger than men and truth strongest of all and the amused King rewarded him with permission to repair the ruins of Jerusalem.

and whose officers had insulted the national law and sanctuary, and, amid shrieks of horror from pious Israelites, erected an altar to Jupiter under the roof of the house of Yahveh. But this abomination of desolation would be hurled down at the divinely appointed time and then? Then the beasts and horns and armies melt together in the dreamer's prospect into a lurid, stormy cloud, which presently parts and reveals a host of Israel's enemies descending to an abyss of shame and contempt, and the righteous Chassids mounting upwards, destined to shine for ever as stars in the firmament.

If the reader appreciates the true purpose of this remarkable book he will ask for no elaborate arguments to prove that Daniel is historically inaccurate as even apart from the miraculous incidents, it undoubtedly is. For example, Babylon was not taken by assault as seems implied in the statement that on the night of the capture the king of the Chaldeans was slain. Babylon surrendered quietly (see p. 78). The cuneiform inscriptions tell of Bil-sarra-utsur (Belshazzar?), but this Bil-sarra-utsur never became king and was certainly not the son of Nebuchadnezza. Nor did Darius the Mede take the throne, as Daniel<sup>2</sup> says, for Nabonidus was at once followed by Cyrus. Daniel himself may or may not be a quite legendary personage. An obscure allusion to an anointed one<sup>3</sup> who should be cut off and have nothing<sup>4</sup> (ix. 26, 6 so the Revised Version has it, in place of "Messiah the Prince") may point to the High Priest Onias III. who was murdered in the year 172. It is interesting to observe the growing importance of angels in the Jewish creed. In Daniel<sup>2</sup> we meet Gabriel a winged figure who interprets visions, and Michael the guardian spirit of the Jewish nation. Finally as to language. The whole of the section ii. 4 to the end of vii. is written in Aramaic, the rest in a somewhat inelegant Hebrew. About fifteen Persian words occur and three Greek terms for musical instruments (*kitharis* harp, *psalterion* and *sumphonia dulcimeter*). These Greek words clearly indicate some knowledge of Hellenic musical art.\*

\* Kuenen's *Pelagion fī Israel* "cl. ap. x. De veris I. tractat. n." Sayce's *High Priest Onias* in "chap. xl. W. Ness of Assyria" cl. ap. xi.



sunlight chase each other across these revelations of the secret experiences of the religious life. The bitter longings to flee into the wilderness with the dove, and the painful sighs of the persecuted soul surrounded by snarling dogs and callous mockers, are alternated with bursts of glad praise to the Supreme who crowns his people with loving kindness and tender mercies, who is merciful and gracious, who pities with a fatherly compassion who leads his flock beside the still waters, who blesses the pure in heart, who withholds no good thing from them that walk uprightly. Yet to form a just conception of the variety of moods which the religious passion of Judaism assumed, we must remember what a keenness and depth of hatred the Psalms can occasionally unveil. Terrible is the invective which the oppressed Hebrew could hurl at his enemy — *‘Let his children be fatherless, and his wife a widow, let his children be vagabonds and beg.’*\*

20 The Septuagint — Not least among the acts of violence by which Antiochus had made himself vile in the sight of the Jews was his attempt to destroy all copies of the holy Torah. But Alexandria lay outside his reach, and in that famous seaport Greek copies of the Law had been current for some years. We have already learnt how a colony of Jews became planted in Alexandria. No more in Egypt than in Babylon did the Hebrew heart forget Jerusalem and the cherished Law. At the same time the lips of the dispersed Israelites had lost the art of speaking Hebrew the old language having been replaced by Aramaic or Greek. A new version of the national religious literature was needed. Accordingly in the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus ( 283-247 B.C.) certain Alexandrian Jews made a Greek version of the Pentateuch. Tradition afterwards recorded that the work was carried out by the desire of Ptolemy himself, and that, at his request the Jewish High priest had sent the King a band of seventy-two scribes to execute the translation. Hence the version has become known as the

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\* For notes on the Psalms, see W. R. Smith, *Old Test. in the Jewish Church* " Lect. vi. Driver's Introduction " T. K. Cheyne's *Orig. and Religious Contents of the Israel. Schrift.* *Jewish People* " liv ii vol. 4.

200 B.C. The Nebiim comprise (1) The Earlier Prophets: Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings. These books were thought to be composed by prophets. (2) The Later Prophets: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve (*i.e.*, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi), which were then reckoned as forming one book. Thus a fresh source of instruction was provided, suitable for reading in the synagogues.

In the preface to Ecclesiasticus, Ben Sira's grandson (p. 103) mentions the Law, Prophets, and other writings as being esteemed among his countrymen. From these other writings, a third class of scriptures was gradually chosen, and added to the Canon. They came to be known as the Kethubim (writings), or Hagiographa, and embraced (1) Poetical books: Psalms, Proverbs, Job; (2) The Megilloth: Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther; (3) Daniel, Ezra-Nehemiah, Chronicles. The seal of public approval seems to have been set upon the Old Testament by about 100 B.C.; but four of the Hagiographa were regarded as doubtful,—The Song, Ecclesiastes, Esther, and Chronicles,—and the controversy among learned Jews respecting their claim to a sacred character lingered on into the first Christian century. Other Jewish writings, some of which are of greater ethical merit than portions of the canonical collection, were excluded from the highest rank on account of their late origin, and, in the course of time, were laid aside in the lumber-rooms of the synagogues as "genuzim," or "hidden" works. After the first Christian century the Jewish Rabbins made it a sin to read these genuzim, or *Apocrypha*.\*

As the Hebrew in which the holy books were penned became a strange language to the Jewish people, it was found needful that an interpreter should stand beside the public scripture-reader and translate the recitation into the vulgar Aramaic. Often, the interpreter would add words of comment and explanation. The younger listeners would

\* The books of the Apocrypha are.—I. and II. Esdras, Tobit, Judith, Rest of Esther, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, Epistle of Jeremy, Song of the Three Holy Children, Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, Prayer of Manasses, I. and II. Maccabees.

frowned upon the patriotic citizens of Jerusalem. Warlike excursions and sieges passed in quick succession. Jonathan was lured into the castle of Acco (Acre) by the deceit of a Syrian general and there butchered (143 B.C.) and keen was the lamentation when his remains were placed in the famous burial place at Modin. Simon, a brother of Jonathan and past the prime of life, then took the lead. Amid the waving of palm branches and the clang of cymbals and a wild strain of joy he entered the conquered citadel of the Akra. During his sway peace brooded over the land and men dwelt at rest under their own vines and fig trees. Stilled recognition of Jewish independence was accorded by the King of Syria, and Simon little suspecting what woes his posterity would suffer at the hands of Rome despatched delegates to Italy bearing a golden shield as gift and the Roman Senate sent greeting to Jerusalem and warned Syria from further interference. Simon even struck a coinage of his own. In a vast assembly the Maccabrean prince received by popular vote the honour of High Priesthood and military chieftainship forever—that is the office was to be hereditary, and thus was established the Hasmonrean (Maccabrean) line of rulers which lasted till the accession of Herod the Great. In 135 Simon was murdered by his own son-in-law. Bright and prosperous was the lot of Judæa during the thirty years reign of his son and successor John Hyrcanus. By diplomacy John saved Jerusalem which had been besieged by the Syrians. From defence he proceeded to aggression conquering the borderlands of Samaria Galilee and the trans Jordan region and even subduing the age-long enemies of Israel the Edomites (at that time called Idumæans). To the defeated Edomites he offered the odious alternatives—exile or a professed conversion to Judaism. The Edomites chose hyprocrisy and were obliged to undergo the rite of circumcision and thus John's glory was stained by a cruel bigotry. Evil clouds began to gather over Judæa after the death of Hyrcanus (104). His son Aristobulus I was 'king' (for so he was entitled) for one brief year—long enough to be hated by the national party on account of his friendship for all things Hellenic. Then came Alexander Jannæus brother of the late king. Strife and tumult at home and abroad marked his twenty-seven years

exercises of the congregation. At the synagogue alms were collected in boxes and dishes. The furniture of these meeting houses was simple: the closet, which contained the sacred books, invested with linen; a desk for the public reader; lamps; and, for musical ceremonies, such instruments as trombones and trumpets. Men and women sat apart. A confession of faith (Shema)\* opened each service; then prayer was offered, the Torah was read aloud, a selection from the prophetic writings was given, and, finally, the priest pronounced the benediction. The scriptures, as we have before seen, were translated into Aramaic by an interpreter.

But the Torah did not touch the Jewish heart only on the Sabbath. It pervaded and moulded every-day life. Like a solemn and watchful angel, it seemed to follow the Israelite's steps, frame his speech, direct his thoughts, and brood over his hearth. To the Gentile mind the long routine of ceremony and devotion to which the Jews conformed may appear a burden too grievous to be borne. But religious enthusiasm made the load much lighter, and custom rendered its pressure easy. The Sabbath was now reaching its supreme height of sanctity. On the hallowed day not only were industrial employments such as sowing, ploughing, reaping, weaving, etc., forbidden. Knots might not be tied (except in such cases as a woman's cap-strings, etc.), nor fires lit or extinguished, nor burdens carried, nor trees climbed, nor hands clapped, nor horses ridden, nor weapons handled. A Sabbath journey was restricted to a walk not exceeding 2,000 cubits, or less than a mile. A broken limb or a sprained hand might not be relieved, and only in such emergencies as childbirth and accidents that threatened life could medical help be summoned. On ordinary week-days a multitude of regulations governed even the handling of pots and pans. Hollow vessels could readily catch an unclean infection, but not open and unrimmed plates, and the like. For cleansing the body or

\* It consisted of the passages Deut. vi. 4-9, and xi. 13-21, with Num. xv. 37-41. Those verses enjoin the Israelite to (figuratively) affix Yahveh's commandments to heart, eyes, forehead, and doors, and to wear four hyacinth-blue tassels suspended to the outer garment as reminders of the divine precepts; in return for which obedience Yahveh will make the earth yield abundant fruit.

purifying vessels water must be used with due regard to its source and quality, and careful distinctions were observed between running water, rain water, drawn well water, etc. Upon each Israelite were incumbent the Three Mementoes (1) The wearing of the blue tassels which symbolised the law, (2) The Mezuzah a box fixed over the doorway, and bearing an inscription from the book of Deuteronomy (see note, p 121) and (3) The Lephillis or prayer strips. These were slips of parchment, enclosed in small cases, and inscribed with verses from the Pentateuch. They were worn on the hand, arm, and forehead and their Greek name of "phylacteries" pointed to a belief in their preservative power against demons. No food might be eaten without the repetition of a grace peculiar to the special dish, one form being used for fruit another for cheese, a third for eggs etc. Fasting was divided into grades the lighter practice permitting a man to wash and anoint himself, under the more serious rite neither washing nor even the salute of a passing friend was allowed. All these details of ceremonial observance speak of a passionate desire to give the very trifles of life a solemn character, and surround the common task with a holy gleam. Yet, to minds of the meaner and briser kind, the system readily offered itself as a cloak to insincerity and hypocrisy.\*

The effort to make religion cover the whole of life was not supported by the entire nation. The aristocratic class were wont to attach more importance to secular and political affairs than was approved of by the puritans. For centuries this cleavage had been evident. The prophets had angrily denounced the time servers who relied upon alliances with Egypt or Assyria rather than upon the arm of Yahveh. Greek culture and Chassid piety had locked themselves in a deadly struggle in the days of Judas Maccabeus. The priestly nobility became more and more divided from the mass of the people, and this wealthy group who made their religion bend before the necessities of politics were known as the Zadokites or Sadducees. The Chassid spirit animated the bulk of the Jewish nation, and reached its completest if sometimes exaggerated, ex-

\* The subjects just adverted to are fully dealt with in Schürer's "Jewish People," vol II, vol 1.

pression in the party of the "Separated," or Perushim, otherwise *Pharisees*. The Pharisees formed no caste; any man might join them. It was their work to teach, expound, impress, and glorify the law, and to keep alive the flame of popular love towards the Temple. So intense was their zeal for the Torah that they sought to rivet it more firmly upon the public conscience by an infinity of interpretations, and by fostering extreme reverence for the precepts which, from time to time, a pious invention had added to the original written code. There was even a saying that "It is more culpable to teach contrary to the precepts of the scribes than contrary to the Torah itself." The characteristic theological doctrines of the Pharisees were (1) That every soul is immortal, the souls of the wicked being punished by eternal pain, the souls of the righteous being invested with a new body after the resurrection from the dead. (2) The belief in the existence of angels and demons. (3) That, while man is free to choose good or evil, the providence of God overrules all things for the accomplishment of the divine purpose. The Pharisees always rose superior to the Sadducees in the affection of the people. Not only did they powerfully mould the national mind and movement during the period of independence (as, for example, when Alexandra sat on the throne of Jerusalem), but even under the Roman eagles or Herod's masterful sceptre they maintained their spiritual sway. To them the synagogues looked for guidance. Especially did the hearts of the Jewish women yield homage to the Pharisaic law. The New Testament conveys too harsh an idea of the Pharisees, whose faults are exaggerated and virtues hidden.

The *Sadducees*, as above pointed out, comprised the richer classes of the priesthood, the military leaders, the experienced and travelled politicians. They acknowledged the written Torah only, and rejected the traditional code of conduct. In theology they were conservative, and refused to accept the doctrines of immortality and of angelic beings which Pharisaism had evolved from the simpler faith of their forefathers. Their spirit, indeed, was humanist and secular as opposed to the intense belief of the Pharisees in the connection between the things of this world and the realities of the supernatural life. With the political ruin of

the Jewish nation the Sadducees as a sect quite disappeared \*

The *Scribes* mostly belonged to the Pharisaic party. In this literary class devoted to the study and elucidation of the Torah we see embodied the profound respect of the Jewish people for their holy scriptures. Everywhere these scholars were saluted with veneration as "Master," or in Greek "Rabbi," though the title "a Rabbi" or "the Rabbi" did not come into use till after the rise of Christianity. The functions of the Scribes were three-fold (1) To build up a system of law. Often they would meet at Jerusalem or elsewhere to debate the bearing of this or that regulation in the "law of Moses," and at length fix upon a convenient adaptation of the old ordinance to more modern conditions. They were in fact, spiritual legislators. (2)

To teach the law by lecture exhortation or catechism, to the disciples who literally sat at their feet in the college, Temple court, etc. (3) To execute the law. The judges in the local courts of justice were chiefly selected from the learned body of the scribes. Hillel and Shammai were famous scribes of the time of Herod the Great. Modest, erudite in the law, genial and great hearted Hillel impressed his generation not only by his zeal for theology, but by the width and sweetness of his ethical thought. To his followers he said "Be a disciple of Aaron a lover of peace a maker of peace love men and draw them to the law. His teaching frequently took form in brief and pithy maxims such as "Promise little and do much."

Receive everyone with kindness. When a Gentile asked him for a short statement of the true religion Hillel replied with the Golden Rule. Do not unto others that which thou wouldst not should be done to thee. This is the whole extent of the law all the rest is merely the explanation of it go now and learn to understand that." Shammai headed a sterner and more rigid school which, nevertheless commanded no small following. In after ages legend fondly wove imaginary biographies of the great scribes. Of Hillel it was told that when a poor youth and unable to pay the entrance fee he climbed to the

\* Graetz vol. I. Schürer der 1., vol. II. Kuenen's Religion of Israel chapter x.

window of the house of assembly where the law was being taught; and there he was found, half-frozen, by the astonished students. Characteristic, if not veracious, is the anecdote that, Shammai's daughter-in-law having borne a child on the feast of Tabernacles, the scrupulous expounder of the law had the ceiling broken through, and a canopy of leafy boughs spread over the aperture, in order that mother and babe might not miss the observance of the feast!

Two terms often met with in literature relating to the work of the scribes may here be explained—viz., *Halachah* and *Haggadah*. When the Jewish scribe reverently studied the supposed Mosaic Torah, and endeavoured to adapt the ancient precepts on sacrifices, feasts, distinctions between clean and unclean, marriage, etc., to the constantly-changing conditions of the national life, the process (*Midrash*) resulted in the *Halachah*, or current law of custom. Thus the *Halachah* was an ever-moving index of Jewish temper and piety. It instructively shows us how Hebrew religion refused to be tied down even to the holy scriptures, and was always working out new channels and taking new directions. The *Haggadah* illustrates the same truth. It comprised the incidents and legends which the Jewish imagination added to the ancient histories. Under the influence of this creative spirit the volume of historical tradition was continually swelling. We have before seen (p. 102) how the book of Chronicles lent a certain moral expansion to the older stories of Samuel and Kings. In the same way fresh episodes were annexed to the biographies of Adam, Abraham, Moses, etc., and fanciful elements introduced into the story of Creation, etc. Ten things, declared the Haggadic inventors, were created in the twilight on the evening before the Sabbath—the abyss destined for rebellious Korah, Miriam's well, the mouth of Balaam's ass, the rainbow, the manna of the wilderness, Moses' rod, the shamir worm which spits out stones, alphabetic writing, the writing of the sacred tables of the law, and the stone tables themselves. Enoch, the patriarch who was wondrously lifted up to God, furnished an easy subject for Haggadah, and about 100 B.C. a remarkable book appeared which professed to give the divine revelations he received. Moses came to be reputed as the founder of the whole civilisation of Egypt. Traces of Haggadah are noticeable



in the New Testament, which, for example, mentions Jannes and Jambres as the names of the Egyptian magicians, speaks of a water giving rock as following the Israelites in the desert, describes the law as given by the ministration of angels represents Michael and Satan as struggling for the body of Moses, etc., all these historical items being absent from the Old Testament \*

A powerful element in Jewish life at the time of the origin of Christianity was the Great Council or *Sanhedrim*. A municipal council had probably been held in Jerusalem since the opening of the Greek period and had been presided over by the High priest, but the term Sanhedrim does not appear in Josephus until he arrives at the story of young Herod being summoned before the Council for his tyrannical governorship of Galilee. When Herod attained the kingship of Judæa he struck at once at the authority of the Sanhedrim. Forty five of its members—they were all Sadducees—were slain and the Council was largely leavened with Pharisees, whose bias for religious rather than political activity was astutely encouraged by the king. On the fall of Jerusalem (70 C.E.) the Sanhedrim proper disappeared. The assembly contained seventy members who belonged to the aristocratic class and were not popularly elected. The High priest acted as the Nasi or president. Constituting the supreme native court over questions of religion and the Mosaic law it possessed no small civil jurisdiction, for the sacred law touched the secular life of the people at a thousand points. Of course, certain limits to the authority of the Sanhedrim were laid down by the Roman conquerors but they left an immense scope to the Jewish Council whose decisions were frequently accepted with respect even by the far-off Hebrews of the Diaspora. It was permitted to the Sanhedrim to inflict punishments such as whipping but no sentence of death was valid, even in the case of a Gentile passing into the forbidden apartments of the Temple, unless confirmed by the Roman procurator †.

Interesting proofs of the sway exercised by the Pharisees are afforded in the reign of Queen Salome (see p. 119). A new magnificence was then imparted to the celebration of

\* Schürer d. r. II, vol. I.

† *Ibid.*

the great festivals. At the Feast of Tabernacles the Temple was dazzlingly illuminated, and sonorous psalms alternated with torch-light processions and dancing. Led by trumpet-blowing priests, a great crowd of people would wend their steps to the spring of Siloah, whence a golden vessel of water was borne to the Temple, and poured in solemn libation over the altar, amid the shouts of the multitude. Again, in the middle of August, a national holiday was instituted, or revived, on the occasion of the wood offering, when the people brought gifts of fuel to the Temple. White-robed girls danced and sang among the laden vines, while the young men looked on and found opportunity, not unapproved by their elders, of choosing their future wives. In the time of Queen Salome, too, was begun the custom of paying tribute to the Temple, every Israelite over twenty being required to pay half a shekel yearly. Even the Hebrews of the Dispersion contributed, and the carefully-guarded treasure was conveyed from the remote communities in Egypt, Babylon, and Asia Minor. The darker side of Jewish piety is betrayed in the survival of the belief in witchcraft. Eighty women were once condemned by the stern Pharisee, Simon ben Shetach, and done to death at Ascalon; and, by the irony of events, this deed of blood was executed in the reign of the only queen who ever ruled post-exilic Judæa.\*

While the Pharisees and Sadducees took an active part in the national affairs there was another religious order which kept itself aloof from the ordinary current of life and practice—viz., the *Essenes*. The birth of the sect is veiled in mystery, but it certainly existed in the middle of the second century B.C., and was, perhaps, a fruit of the same puritan movement which produced the Chassids and the Pharisees. In the time of Philo and Josephus (first century C.E.) they numbered about 4,000, many dwelling in towns and villages, and one large group being gathered in the rocky desert of Engedi on the western side of the Dead Sea. The whole body was closely knitted by oath, mode of life, and belief. Only adults were admitted as members. A probation of three years preceded the solemn oath-taking. Meals were partaken of, in common. All

\* Grætz, vol. ii., chapter 4.

property belonged to all. Each gave his earnings into the hands of appointed overseers who bought such things as the community needed. All wore garments of a like kind. The sick were tended at the general expense. Homes were found for visitors from another settlement. No slaves were kept. The chief occupation was agriculture, and handicrafts were followed, but trading was forbidden. No Essene ever made or handled a weapon. When a candidate was received into the order he was given a pickaxe, an apron and a white robe. The white robe was worn in token of purity, the axe was used for digging holes for sanitary purposes, the earth being decently relaid, and the apron was worn for modesty in bathing. The Essenes were continually bathing—every morning and after performing the natural functions and before each repast. Not inappropriately they were sometimes called 'Morning Baptists'. Anointing with oil was not permitted. A meal was preceded and followed by thanksgiving, but not a word was uttered when food was being eaten. While there seems no reason to affirm that they abstained from meat and wine, it is true that the Essenes offered no animal sacrifices. To the Temple they sent gifts of incense, but never worshipped there. The Sabbath was strictly observed. Marriage was avoided except among a small and heretical minority. In all events the Essenes saw the hand of God at work. Next to God they revered Moses and he who blasphemed the great Lawgiver's name was deemed worthy of death. So also they held sacred the names of the angels. Aided by ancient writings they spelt out a strange medæval science from magical roots and stones and by softly whispered incantations thought they could heal disease. Illness and idiocy were attributed to demons, and some of the Essenes were reputed to possess the power of expelling these evil spirits. Even prophecy was reckoned among their gifts. Above all they desired to taste the pleasures of ecstasy when heavenly voices were to be heard and sublime visions unrolled. The soul they believed was once ethereal and shall be so again when it escapes the prison house of the body and soars to a farland beyond the ocean where balmy zephyrs ever blow but not if tainted by sin for the evil soul will dwell in a region of cold and torment. Sober compassions, peaceable truth

ful in speech, and frugal in habit, the Essenes were esteemed by the outside world. One trait in their daily ritual is significant. Morning prayer was uttered with the face towards the sun, whereas orthodox Jews would turn towards the Temple. And when we find that Epiphanius (fourth century C.E.) describes the Ossenes (Essenes) as being connected with the Sampsitæ, or sun-worshippers,\* we may suspect a kinship between these Jewish devotees and the followers of Zoroaster. The Parsees had their frequent purifications, and white garments for the Magi; they adored Ahura-mazda through his symbol the sun, and forbore from offering sacrifices of flesh to their God; and they possessed extensive faith in angels and magic. But if we turn from the east to the west, we discover in Greece yet another religious system which yields parallels with Essenism. The Pythagoreans laid stress upon bodily purity, chaste habits, plain living, white clothing, avoidance of oaths, rejection of flesh and-blood sacrifices, reverence for the sun, high regard for (though not insistence upon) celibacy, and the doctrine of the double existence of soul and body. But the beliefs and practice of the Pythagoreans were, in reality, derived from the east, though Pythagoreanism was older than Essenism. Thus, in two directions, we see external religious influences brought to bear upon the character of this peculiar Jewish sect.†

The period between the Maccabees and Herod the Great yields a fairly copious supply of literature. About 100 B.C. (this vague date must suffice us) was penned the *First Book of Maccabees*, which recounts the grievous tyrannies of Antiochus, the valour of Judas, the adventures and murder of Jonathan, and the happy days of Simon. No miracle is inserted in the picturesque story, unless the sudden death of Alkimus can be ranked as a wonder. Indeed, the book

is more patriotic than pious. The author of *Maccabees II* with his "God be gracious unto you" we thank God "the Almighty Lord" etc. and his repeated praises of the Temple "the great Temple" "the Temple honoured all over the world" etc. is effusively religious and even affected. His narrative of the persecution by Antiochus and the resistance waged by Judas is less trustworthy than the First Book though it embraces several few and interesting incidents. On more than one occasion angelic warriors are introduced. Thus, in the height of battle two heavenly horsemen descend and ride one on each side of Judas the Hammer reminding us of Castor and Pollux at the battle of Regillus. *Judith*\* depicts a romantic triumph of the Jews over their heathen enemies. Its historical allusions are quite inaccurate for example it speaks of the Jews as returning from the Captivity in the time of Nebuchadnezzar. The story is simply a religious novel of which the outline runs as follows—Nebuchadnezzar's general Holofernes has overrun the lands of western Asia. The little Jewish town of Bethsai is besieged. Judith a beautiful widow, and a pious observer of Sabbaths and new moons undertakes to save the place and people. Beautifully attired she takes her way accompanied only by her maid into the Assyrian camp and offers to act as guide to Jerusalem. The general is allured by her charms. A banquet is given after which Judith is left alone with the drunken Holofernes. With his own sword she beheads him and secretly carries the head to Bethsai. The garrison sallies out and chase the Assyrians away while Judith sings a psalm of thanksgiving and cries woe upon the Gentile foe. The Lord Almighty will take vengeance of them in the day of judgment in putting fire and worms in their flesh and they shall feel them and weep for ever. Critics greatly differ as to the date of the book, but it may be loosely assigned to the period preceding the rise of Christianity. The *Additions to Esther* of which the exact time of writing is not ascertainable, expand the legend of Mordecai, his niece Esther the maidservant of Haman and the salvation of the Jewish dwellers

\* For this and other Apocryphal books mentioned in the present section see Schürer *Lev. II* vol. II. Wace's "Commentary" and Kuenen's "Religion of Israel" chapters x. and xii. The reader will of course bear in mind that the text of the Apocrypha is Greek.

in Persia. In the book of Esther the name of God does not occur, but in the "Additions" the religious element is strong. Queen Esther is represented as uttering a long prayer, and, as confessing before God that only unwillingly and with shame did she wear the crown of unbelieving Persia. Mordecai's dreams of two great fighting dragons and the darkness and general tribulation amid which the conflict was waged has a touch of the mystical view of history already met with in the book of Daniel. The *Additions to Daniel* are (1) The "Song of the Three Children." Surrounded by the flames of Nebuchadrezzar's furnace, Azariah lifts up his praises to God. When he concludes, a new song is chanted by himself and his two companions, Ananias and Misael. This production (sung in Christian churches in the form of the "Benedicite") is not without lyric vigour. In brief, graphic phrases the whole realm of nature is invoked. The firmamental waters, the sun and moon, the dew and snow, the seas and rivers, the fowls of the air and the beasts of the field, are all called upon to bless the Lord, and exalt him for ever. (2) The "History of Susanna," which tells how two lascivious elders watched the beauteous Susanna, the wife of Jehoiakim, at her bath, and, when she repelled their lust, accused her of adultery with a youth who had fled from their hands. Daniel comes to judgment, and convicts the elders of lying by examining them separately, when one affirms that Susanna sinned under a mastic-tree, the other under a holm tree. Here, as in Judith, a pleasing illustration is drawn of the popular Jewish ideas of female chastity. (3) "Bel and the Dragon" is a somewhat inelegant satire on the Babylonian religion, and the epic of the great combat between the god Merodach and Tiamat the monster of the deep (see p. 58). Bel's priests are detected as having eaten the feast supposed to be consumed by the image of the god, the trick being revealed by Daniel's artifice of spreading dust on the floor of the temple; the foot prints of the midnight visitors to the spread table betraying the fraud. The sacred Dragon is choked by a bolus of pitch, fat, and hair which Daniel thrusts down its mouth. Then follows the episode of the Lion's Den. Daniel is fed during his confinement by a meal which is brought to him by Habakkuk, that prophet having been miraculously borne

by angelic hands from Judæa to Babylon. The *Prayer of Manasseh* is an amplification of the hint thrown out by the compiler of Chronicles to the effect that King Manasseh bound with a double chain in a Babylonian prison besought the Lord for mercy. Whether the *History of Solomon* should be dated before or after the opening of the Christian era is a much disputed question and in here glancing at the contents of the book we must be satisfied with the meagre conclusion that its ideas were in the air at the time when the new religion was struggling in the birth.\* Judging from allusions to the animal worship sacred images and wall paintings of Egypt it may be gathered that the writer lived in Alexandria. The original language was certainly Greek. Written by a Jew of the western Dispersion the book shows contact with a larger culture and philosophy than the Haggadic legends in which the Jew of Palestine or Babylon delighted. The use of Solomon's name was, of course only a literary device to catch the attention. Three sections are distinguishable in the work (1) In the first five chapters wisdom and righteousness are contrasted with error and vice. The voluptuous wicked chapleted with roses at the banquet persecute the just but the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God they shall live for evermore and receive beautiful crowns while the Lord putting on righteousness as a breastplate judgment for helmet holiness for shield will slay the ungodly with a sword of wrath. (2) King Solomon (in chapters vi-ix) declares the praise of Wisdom—She is the brightness of the everlasting light the unspotted mirror of the power of God and the image of his goodness. (3) The third section (x to end) traces the marvellous saving influence of Wisdom in various incidents of history as the Flood and the sojourn of Israel in Egypt, and many contemptuous things are said in passing of the folly of putting trust in idols carved from wood and daubed with vermilion. Not to be pardoned are the pagans who deem ether fire or wind or the swift star or the circle of the stars or the violent water or the lights of heaven to be the gods. Much govern the world for deeper searching ought to lead them to the Maker of all.

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\* Schurer feels certain that the author preceded Philo.

From the Apocryphal writings just considered we may pass to three pieces of literature known as the Book of Enoch, the Sibylline Oracles, and the Psalms of Solomon.

Towards 100 B.C. appeared the oldest portion of the *Book of Enoch*. It was probably written in Chaldee, and in the Hebrew or the Aramaic language. Modern European translations are made from early Ethiopic copies, these in turn having been rendered from Greek versions. Of the 108 chapters of the book three divisions may be readily formed: (1) The original groundwork, chapters 1-xxxv and lxxv-cv; (2) The Allegories in chapters xxxvii-lxxi. These were added by a later hand, probably during or close after, the reign of Herod the Great. (3) Certain passages, of still younger date—viz. the last three chapters and the Noachian portions, so-called because they refer to Noah and his time. Interpolations have been in all likelihood inserted in many chapters. The peculiar attraction of the Book of Enoch lies in its anticipation of many of the thoughts and terms of the New Testament. Our curiosity is piqued, at the outset, by the fact that it is actually quoted in the epistle of Jude (verses 14-15) to the following effect—“Enoch also, the seventh from Adam, prophesied of these [evil men] saying, Behold the Lord cometh with ten thousands of his saints to execute judgment upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly among them of all



Cod. A new vision is opened, in which we catch glimpses of crystal walls, tongues of fire and a lofty white throne. Then in a flying excursion Enoch passes through heaven and earth viewing the pathways of angels, the birthplace of the winds, the limbo where seven sinful stars are confined, the fiery abyss where evil angels lie imprisoned, the cavernous Shool where the souls of the dead wait the Day of Judgment, the Happy Land prepared for just men, and the trees of Life and Wisdom. The author's ideas of astronomy are thrown into the shape of a description uttered by the angel Uriel. Among other things we are told that in size the sun and moon are equal. A dream of the Flood is given in which the earth is seen descending into the vast watery depths. Another dream reveals a singular diorama in which sheep, wolves, and bullocks march before the spectator and appear to symbolise the chief persons and events of Jewish history from the patriarchal times down to the Maccabean troubles. Then as in the book of Daniel deliverance comes from on high. The Lord sets up his throne in Judaea. Sealed records are opened before him. The seventy shepherds (guardian angels?) who had neglected their duty of protecting the Chosen People are cast into the abyss. A new and splendid Temple arises and the people of God under the emblem of white sheep are pictured as living in tranquil joy under the presidency of a white bullock—i.e. a Messianic prince. In the closing chapters Enoch exhorts to the good life, dissuades from idolatry and impiety, and in the spirit of the much-enduring Chassids affirms that the Great One is not unmindful of the sufferings of the just and will remember his servants and cause them to shine like the luminaries of heaven.\*

In the second century B.C. a prophetic poem in Greek hexameters was written by a Jew of Hellenic bias, who probably dwelt in Alexandria. A history of the past and a forecast of the future are put into the mouth of a Sibyl.

\* Scherer, l. v. vol. 1. The book of Enoch translated into English can be obtained in two hands, edited and prefaced by the author of "Elohim and Christinity" and the other by Scholde. The latter is an excellent edition well supplied with critical notes. The Allegories and Noachian passages will be considered later on.

who represents herself as having lived in the days of Noah and survived to utter in the latter days the things which God will bring upon the earth. This first poem was afterwards copiously added to by Jewish and Christian hands until the collection amounted to fourteen books, known as the Jewish-Christian *Sibylline Oracles*. Not without a certain declamatory fire and power of animated description the Sibyl tells of the Fall of Babel (the preceding episodes are lost) the conflict between the early kings Kronos and Titan and the development of great kingdoms from Egypt to Rome. Then in the manner of the olden Hebrew prophets, she launches out into curses upon heathen nations. Greece, especially, is attacked. Adore the living God cries the prophetess to beautiful but sinful Hellas—eschew adultery and sodomy—rear thy children and slay them not for the Eternal is wrath with those who commit such evils. Homer too is denounced for he, the blind old man, cheated the world by styling the Sibyl's verses on the fortunes of Troy and offering them to the world as his own. Finally the Sibyl points to a coming prince—how all shall hush all wars to a redeemed Israel clothed in gold and purple and to a terrible outbreak of divine anger which will overwhelm the enemies of God's people in a storm of rain, hail and flaming sulphur\*.

Between 70 and 40 B.C. two movements shook the Jewish nation—externally the invasion of the Romans, internally the struggle waged by the Pharisees and Sadducees. To this period may be traced a series of eighteen songs entitled the *Psalms of Solomon*. They were composed in Hebrew but the extant version is Greek. Various passages seem to point unmistakably to Pompey's conquest of the Holy City in B.C. 63 and his ruthless pouring out of the blood of the dwellers in Jerusalem like the water of uncleanness, and a later reference to the conqueror's body lying unburied and despoiled on the shore of Egypt aptly tallies with the facts of Pompey's death. The tone is strongly Pharisaic the Sadducees being denounced as sinners who contemptuously reject and act from worldly and

\* Schürer *dr. 11. vol. 1. Ed. 6. 1877* July 1877. The Third Sibylline Book is translated at length in the *Académie de l'Histoire des Religions* 1883 and 1884. This Third book is the oldest.

time-serving motives, while the righteous poor and lowly as they may be fear God in simplicity and honour his sacred Torah. The righteous will rise to life eternal, the wicked are destined to Sheol (Hades) and darkness and destruction. Great prominence is afforded to the doctrine of the Messiah. The Deliverer will be of David's line, will drive the Gentiles from Judæa and gather the dispersed tribes of Israel. Holy, wise and just, he will exercise spiritual sway over the saints of God as the "Lord Messiah"—a title which in the Greek translation appears as *Χριστος* *Christos* or Anointed Lord\*. But, though divinely appointed, the Messiah is nothing more than human. His character and achievements are glowingly foretold in the seventeenth of these Psalms, which opens with a lament for the havoc caused in Jerusalem by alien armies and the scattering and degradation of the people of God. Then the Psalmist bursts into a passionate appeal for the Saviour prince. "Raise up," he cries, "the son of David in the time which thou O God knowest that he may reign over Israel thy servant. The Prince will break in pieces the ungodly despots, and gather together a kingly people. All shall be holy and their king is the Lord Messiah. The Messiah will be pure from sin, mighty in his works and shall tend the flock of the Lord with truth and righteousness. Blessed are they that shall be born in those days to behold the blessing of Israel which God shall bring to pass in the gathering together of the tribes."†

and tastes. While it is easy to find grounds for praising the Talmud, it is yet easier to collect extracts which will justify contempt or ridicule. The late Emanuel Deutsch could quote from its treatises such sayings as "Be of them that are persecuted, not of them that persecute;" "He who offers humility unto God and man shall be rewarded with a reward as if he had offered all the sacrifices in the world;" "He who gives charity in secret is greater than Moses himself;" "To slander is to murder;" "Teach thy tongue to say, I do not know." On the other hand, unfriendly critics can point to its superstitions, rude jests, and obscenities, such as the method prescribed for opening the eyes to see demons—the inner skin of a black cat is to be burnt to powder, and placed upon the eyes; or the description of the two Rabbis who were so fat that, when they stood face to face, a couple of oxen could walk under the arch formed by their corpulence. The word "Talmud" signifies study, instruction, learning, system. Under this term are included the oldest portion, known as the Mishna, certain additions called Tosephta, and two Gemaras (complements, or commentaries upon the Mishna), the Palestinian and the Babylonian, both dating from a considerable time after the rise of the Christian religion. Only with the *Mishna* are we at present concerned. The Mishna (tradition or study) chiefly deals with the interpretation of the "Mosaic" law. It is a treasury of the reflections and notes and discussions upon the ancient sacred Torah, these fragmentary remarks and suggestions and musings having been gradually gathered up and remembered (but not written) for several pre-Christian centuries. The six great sections of the Mishna touch upon (1) The religious aspects of rural life, tithes and dues of fruit and corn, etc.; (2) Festivals, (3) Marriage and divorce; (4) Criminal law, oaths, etc.; (5) Sacrifices and vows; (6) Purifications in case of leprosy, etc. About 150 Jewish fathers are quoted as authorities for the various precepts and directions. The language is pure Hebrew. Towards the close of the second century C.E. the miscellaneous pieces of interpretation were collected and reduced to order by Rabbi Y-hudah, a learned Jew who is often referred to simply as Rabbi; though, according to the usual account, he wrote nothing down, and the work of re-arrangement was carried on entirely by mental effort! The most

long afterwards among the Sadducees. But the Chassid heart began to weave hopes of a brighter future. When the tempest of persecution clouded the sky in the days of the Maccabees the Jews conceived thoughts of peace and recompense in another state of existence. Many that slept in the dust, said the writer of "Daniel," should awake, some to everlasting life, some to shame and everlasting contempt. Here and there, among the Psalms, the growing conception of a future life casts a trembling ray. One Psalmist watches the death and burial of the wicked rich, and then turns away to exclaim: "Nevertheless, God shall set free my soul; from the hand of Sheol shall he take me!" (xlix. 15). This is all, but it is enough for hope to feed on. Something of this eager though ill-articulated expectation is suggested in the cry of another Psalmist (xvii.), who has beheld the prosperity of the ungodly: "As for me, I shall behold thy face in righteousness; may I be satisfied, when I awake, with thine image!" A like triumphant note is struck in the concluding verses of Psalm xvi.: "Thou wilt not leave my soul in Sheol, neither [this is a parallel clause] wilt thou suffer thine holy one to see corruption; thou wilt show me the path of life." The Pharisees and Essenes cherished strong hopes of a future existence. In the book of Enoch\* a picture is given of the abode of departed souls under the cliffs of a vast mountain in the west. There the righteous spirits gather (some, but not all, round a fountain of water and light), while the wicked sullenly endure gloom and pain until the Day of Judgment, when the worst sinners will be condemned to increased torment in a fiery furnace which yet is a place of darkness. The good souls rise to heaven, there to eat of the fruit of the sweet smelling tree of life, and enjoy an existence replete with divine pleasures and exempt from all ill. The prison house of wicked souls will, after the judgment, be in that accursed valley of Hinnom, or Gehenna, which lies under the very walls of Jerusalem. Gradually the belief took shape that, just before the last great day, a general resurrection of dead bodies would occur. From the future life, according to the early Talmud, were shut out those who denied the possibility of resurrec-

\* Chiefly in the older document; a few details are added in the later portions.

tion, several bad characters in the Old Testament histories such as Jeroboam Ahab Balaam etc. the sinners who perished at the Deluge, and idolaters. As the doctrine of the Messiah attained clearer outlines the Rabbis taught that at Messiah's coming all the Israelite nation would rise again and afterwards at the Day of Judgment the whole human race. Was the punishment of the wicked eternal? A passage in the Mishna speaks of a certain class of sinners as dwelling in a kind of purgatory, whence they emerged after suffering sufficient agony in fire and ice and so far did a belief in a temporary hell extend that it became a custom among the Jews to give alms and repeat prayers for the benefit of the souls of their beloved dead. Yet for at least a proportion of sinners the Talmud declares Hell to be everlasting. Naturally these doctrines being the creation of religious hope and fancy varied and fluctuated in detail but there is no doubt that when Christianity entered on its process of formation the conception of Immortality was well established among the Jews\*.

If Judaism drew its dark Sheol from Babylonia whence did it gain its idea of the conscious and prolonged existence of joy for the righteous and pain for the evil? This new feature was largely a natural outcome of Jewish suffering and desire for recompense, but it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that in the moulding and enlargement of the hope of a future life the influence of the Zoroastrian religion was strong. For two hundred years Judæa had been ruled by Persia and it would be strange if Persian thought left no mark upon the Jewish mind. On turning to the Gathas and other ancient hymns of the Zend Avesta we there find the clearest anticipations of a life to come. For the transgressor against divine law there is reserved perdition—

Long life shall be his lot, & the darkness soul shall be his food. But Ahura Mazda will give both universal weal and immortality in the fulness of his righteous order

and he will likewise give the Good Mind's vigorous might to him who in spirit and deeds is his (God's) friend

\* J. Drummond's Jewish Messiah book I. chapter xx. Schürer's vol. I. Cheynes "Origin of the Psalter" lect. vi. part I. on "Rise of Doctrine of Judgment after Death." *Jew & Quarterly Review* 1889 article by Professor Cassell on "The Future Life in Rabbinic Literature."

The devout Parsee prays "that we may attain to fellowship with thee (God) and thy righteousness for all duration," and "to thy good kingdom, O Ahura-Mazda, may we attain for ever, and a good king be thou over us; and let each man of us, and so each woman, thus abide, O thou most beneficent of beings, and for both the worlds." Over the Judge's bridge (Kinvat) the souls of the departed will pass, the servants of God in safety, the wicked fated to slip and descend to the Lie's Abode, where for ever shall their habitation be.\* In the Bundahis, a post-Christian work which embodies very ancient beliefs, a description is given of a resurrection when "all men stand up; whoever is righteous and whoever is wicked, every human creature, they rouse up from the spot where its life departs;" and "in that assembly everyone sees his own good deeds and his own evil deeds; and a wicked man becomes as conspicuous as a white sheep among those which are black; .....afterwards they set the righteous man apart from the wicked; and then the righteous is for heaven, and they cast the wicked back to hell."† Great variation, of course, is observable between Judaism and the Persian religion; but along this line of the doctrine of a future life their agreement is striking.

Out of the gloom and tribulation which the Jewish people so long endured rose the bright star of the *Messianic hope*.‡ The prophets of the eighth century B.C. taught the nation to lift up the eyes and discern the distant gleam of a golden age. The last verses of Amos§ speak of a time when Israel shall dwell amid vines and gardens, and they shall no more be pulled up out of the land which Yahveh has given them. Isaiah's eloquent tongue charmed the Hebrew ear with prospects of a happy Jerusalem, the centre to which all earthly eyes would be turned, and over which would reign the ideal prince, and where death's shadow would dissolve in the radiance of endless victory. Ezekiel prophesied the advent of a new David, who should rule the people of God for ever. Isaiah's visions were reinforced by

\* The Gathas will be found in "Sacred Books of the East," vol. xxxi.

† Bundahis, chapter xxx; "S.B.E.," vol. 5.

‡ Messiah (Hebrew) = Christ (Greek) = Anointed.

§ They may have been added by a later hand, but even then prove the Hebrew tendency to anticipate an age of deliverance and peace.

the exalted strains of the Poet of the Restoration (p 78 to 80) But this poet transfigured the conquering prince into the grand conception of the Servant, which represented all that was best in the national life and character as being chastened, and disciplined by the Exile and prepared for the triumph of redemption and bridal joy For many years the voices of the prophets of the Golden Age were all but silenced In the days of Ezra and Nehemiah a vague forecast was uttered by the prophet Malachi concerning a reformer who should descend upon the Temple like an impetuous Elijah and re-create the priesthood and purify social life Then came the lowering tempest of the persecution by Antiochus and then the Jewish heart returned answer to the tyrant in those rapt dreams of the book of Daniel which unveil the inner heavens and show the Ancient of Days on a flaming throne, and a Son of Man who receives from the divine hand an everlasting dominion over all peoples nations and languages *Old Tobit's* psalm (p 107) made mention of a blissful day when Jerusalem's towers should be built with gold and all her streets cry Alleluia but no word is said as to the Saviour king There is a Messianic sound in the 7<sup>th</sup> Psalm, which extols a newly-crowned king who will justly judge the poor and needy in whose days the righteous will flourish and even the mountain tops bear corn and all nations shall call him blessed but it is possible that the Psalmist is celebrating the praises of Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt \* Perhaps it was Simon Maccabæus whom another Psalmist (cx) hailed as a priest for ever after the order of the old time Melchizedek the king of righteousness The Second Psalm portrays the enthronement on Mount Zion of a king who is entitled "Son of God" and promised a world wide heritage In our examination of the book of Enoch the Sibylline Oracles and the Psalms of Solomon we have seen how as the birth of Christianity approached the Messianic idea was revived and expanded A general view may now be taken of the Messiah doctrine and it will be convenient to anticipate the course of this History so as to include details from literature dating in the first Christian

\* The patron of the Septuagint This is Professor Cheynes opinion.



Jews would be gathered together in peace at Jerusalem and the ten tribes long exiled in eastern solitudes would come back to their native land the Euphrates being dried up to facilitate their homeward march. An extraordinary legend ran to the effect that two preternatural monsters Belemoth and Leviathan were condemned by God to be killed and salted as food for the saints in Messiah's kingdom. Finally at the close of the Messianic period \* the dead would rise. Then says Enoch "there will stand up in that day all the kings and the mighty and the exalted and those who hold the earth and they will see and recognise him how he sits on the throne of his glory and righteousness is judged before him and no lying word is spoken before him then shall pain come upon them as on a woman in travail (lxii), and again I saw the Head of Days (God) when he had seated himself on the throne of his glory and the books of the living were opened before him and his whole host which is in heaven above and around him stood before him. And the hearts of the holy were filled with joy that the number of righteousness (i.e. the time of reckoning) had drawn nigh and the prayer of the righteous was heard and the blood of the righteous required before the Lord of Spirits (xlvi). The spiritual world is then inaugurated as already sketched in our remarks on the Future Life †

Incidentally many points illustrative of Jewish morality in the post-Maccabean age have been brought into relief, but a few words may still be added. Highly esteemed among the later Jews was the virtue of charity in the sense of practical generosity. It was even held that atonement for sin could be made by almsgiving. Of course in meaner natures the tendency was to bestow doles upon the poor as a mechanical set-off to serious immorality. In sexual life the Hebrew record was distinguished. Chastity was prized, and it was along this line of efforts that the

\* The doctrine has no fixity in it for some believed the resurrection would precede the reign of Messiah.

† Schürer's *History of the Jewish People* (J. Dummigk's *Jewish Messiah* for the *Isalms* Cheynes' *Origin of the Psalter*). The Book of Enoch is so important that a more recent version than those named in a former note may be mentioned—viz. by P. H. Charles. This is now the best English edition and in an appendix is printed the Greek fragment of Enoch discovered in Egypt in the winter of 1886-7.

in Babylon. They bewail the desolation of Judæa, and their forlorn condition in a heathen land; yet, not without pride, they claim that upon Israel, alone among the nations of the earth, the Everlasting had bestowed the knowledge of that Wisdom which neither wealthy merchant nor renowned warriors could obtain: "O Israel, happy are we; for things that are pleasing to God are made known unto us." There is a certain grandeur in the exhortation to patience under suffering, "Be of good comfort, O my children, and cry unto God," for of all nations the Jews have best learned the meaning of patience. The book ends with radiant promises of a Jerusalem illumined with the light of divine glory. To Baruch is usually appended a short piece entitled the *Epistle of Jeremiah*—a letter purporting to be written by the prophet to the Jews, who were about to be borne into exile in Babylonia, and warning them against the worship of idols. The tone is hard and sarcastic. "How," cries the supposed Jeremiah, "can they be called gods? because women set meat before the gods of silver, gold, and wood; and the priests sit in their temples, having their clothes rent, and their heads and beards shaven." These pagan gods, forsooth, are no better than "scarecrows in a cucumber-garden" !]

23.—From the accession of Herod the Great, 37 B.C., to the reign of the Emperor Nero, 54 C.E.—Three noteworthy features connect themselves with the reign of Herod the Great—the outward splendour of his operations, the dark tragedies of his domestic life, and the hatred with which he was regarded by the Jews. He had scarcely made himself lord of Jerusalem when he put to death forty-five Sadducean members of the Sanhedrim, and seized their property. For some twelve years he waged, cunningly and fiercely, a struggle for existence. Hyrkanus, once king of the Jews (p. 119), was living in exile among the Babylonian Dispersion. The daughter of Hyrkanus was Alexandra; she detested the Edomitish Herod, and laid ceaseless plots. Mariamme, Alexandra's beautiful daughter, was Herod's wife; he loved her, but his love was ever mingled with bitter jealousy. Mariamme's handsome young brother was made High-priest, but ere long he was drowned in a bath by his companions, who, at Herod's suggestion, held the

ill-fated youth under water in pretence of sport. Not without much difficulty did Herod keep his little kingdom out of the clutches of far-famed Cleopatra, whose face had bewitched the soul of Antony. In 31 a great earthquake shook the land, and 30,000 people lost their lives. War with Arabia ended in victory for Herod. Old Hyrcanus was slain by the king's orders. A new Cæsar was now rising. Defeated Antony had committed suicide. Augustus (Octavian) held the Roman sceptre. To him Herod hastened with congratulations and homage; Augustus granted favour to Herod, and also gave permission to the Libertines (the Jewish colony in Rome) to build synagogues and freely practise their rites. Next year (29) Herod's wrathful suspicion sent Mariamne to the scaffold as an adulteress; and then, in remorse, he had her body embalmed in honey. Alexandra also fell a victim to his ill-will. While thus his passions sought satisfaction in blood, his royal ambition expressed itself more innocently in lavish gold and marble. The Roman emperor, now hailed as a god, was honoured in stately temples; the populace were amused with amphitheatres and racecourses. New cities were built, old cities *were beautified*. *The restored town of Samaria, the break-water and haven of Cæsarea, the elegant colonnades of Antioch, the baths of Ascalon, testified to his massive liberality.* A handsome palace and the strong citadel of Antonia were erected in the capital, and his palace-gardens were enlivened with fountains and rustling pigeons. If Herod could encourage emperor-worship, he was equally ready to flatter Jewish piety by removing the old fashioned Temple, and replacing it by a structure which crowned the hills of Jerusalem as a thing of beauty. Round the Holy of Holies were ranged galleries decked with cedar and mosaic. The white marble walls and roof were topped with gilded spikes. A vane of gold blazed over the folding doors of the Sanctuary. Noble courts were set apart for priests, laymen, and women. Among the outer entrances was the fine wrought-iron Gate of Nicanor. A multitude of sacrifices celebrated the feast of dedication. Yet, amid the rejoicing, the devouter Israelites looked up with a scowl at the golden imperial eagle which hung over the chief entrance; and it was whispered that an underground passage from the palace to the Temple had been

cut in order to afford swift means of throwing soldiers into the sacred enclosure in times of public commotion. It was not easy to rebel though the Pharisaic spirit was always secretly disaffected. Twice a large number of Pharisees had refused the oath of allegiance though men like Shammai advised the people to bear Herod's yoke as a penance from God. Spies went in and out among the citizens. All gatherings of groups in the street were forbidden. Herod succeeded in governing Jerusalem and in the protection and promotion of commerce. His own household was a scene of chaos and evil deeds. He had had in all ten wives. Of his children he hanged two for sedition, they were sons of the slain Mariamme. When nearly seventy years of age Herod lay mortally ill and yet mustered sufficient strength to sentence to death two Rabbis who tore down the eagle over the Temple gate. While the king was dying his son Antipater was executed. A legion of Gauls and Germans followed Herod's body to burial. The Jews hailed his death with gladness (4 B.C.)

By Herod's will his dominions were to be divided among three of his sons—Judæa being allotted to Archelaus Galilee and Perea to Herod Antipas and the trans Jordan country (Batanaea, Trachonitis etc. lands north-east of the lake of Galilee and about the Jordan sources) to Philip. At the time of Herod's death great crowds had flocked into Jerusalem to keep the Passover. Archelaus addressed the multitude from a throne in the Temple court. They angrily demanded lessened taxation and the punishment of those who had been concerned in the death of the two Rabbis. Soldiers were assailed with stones. Troops were let loose upon the people many hundreds were slain and the Passover was suddenly terminated. The sons of Herod repaired to Rome to dispute before Augustus each other's claims to dominion. During their absence the air of Palestine was electric. The masses desired to be rid forever of the Herodian family. At the feast of Pentecost an outbreak occurred. From the Temple walls stones were hurled at the Roman soldiers, the Colonnade was set on fire the sacred treasury plundered. The revolt spread to the villages. A mob of rustics swarmed round Judas a native of Gaulanitis. Forcing his way into Sepphoris, the capital of Galilee, he seized the arsenal and armed his

rough followers. Two Roman legions hurried from Antioch. Sepphoris<sup>1</sup> was burned, and the inhabitants sold as slaves; but Judas escaped. Jerusalem was subdued, and two thousand patriots expired on the cross. \* And then the sons of Herod returned to the unhappy land, with orders to carry out their father's will.

Philip the tetrarch ruled his territory peaceably till his death in 33. One of the cities built by him stood near the Jordan sources, and was named Cesarea Philippi. Herod Antipas, also called tetrarch, governed Galilee and Peraea till his banishment in 39. He, too, constructed a new city, which overlooked the lake of Galilee, and was known as Tiberias, after the Emperor Tiberius. The first wife of Antipas was the daughter of Aretas, the king of the Arabian region which touched Peraea. She fled to her father on learning that Herod intended to divorce her; and the king married Herodias, who was wife of the still living Herod, the half-brother of Antipas.\* The father of Herod's slighted queen avenged the insult in a battle which ended in the complete victory of the Arabians. Misunderstandings with Rome led to the exile of Antipas from his tetrarchy.

At this point a difficulty presents itself. How far can we rely upon the paragraph in Josephus which relates the work and death of John the Baptist? It is certain that Christian hands have interpolated references to "Jesus Christ," and James "the brother of Jesus Christ," in the writings of the Jewish historian; certain also that, outside of these short allusions to three Gospel personages, Josephus makes no mention of the remarkable events which are so characteristic of the Christian scriptures. Unfortunately, therefore, but not unnaturally, the passage, even if genuine, provokes our suspicion. At present any consideration of John the Baptist may be deferred; but the section from Josephus is here reproduced for the reader's examination. Josephus is describing the dispute with the Arabian King, the defeat of Antipas, and the latter's complaint to the Court of Rome. It will be noticed that the passage may be omitted without any violence to the connection, and the context (printed in

\* So Josephus, "Antiquities," bk. xviii., chap. v. 4. His statement clashes with the Gospels, which make Philip the first husband of Herodias.

italics) be read conveniently without it. So Herod wrote about these affairs to Tiberius, who being very angry at the attempt made by Aretis, wrote to Vitellius, to make war upon him and either to take him alive and bring him to him in bonds or to kill him and send him his head. This was the charge that Tiberius gave to the president of Syria. Now some of the Jews thought that the destruction of Herod's army came from God and that very justly, as a punishment of what he did against John, that was called the Baptist for Herod slew him who was a good man, and commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both as to righteousness towards one another, and piety towards God and so to come to baptism, for that the washing would be acceptable to him if they made use of it, not in order to the putting away of some sins, but for the purification of the body supposing still that the soul was thoroughly purified beforehand by righteousness. Now when others came in crowds about him, for they were greatly moved by hearing his words, Herod who feared lest the great influence John had over the people might put it into his power and inclination to raise a rebellion (for they seemed ready to do anything he should advise) thought it best, by putting him to death to prevent any mischief he might cause and not bring himself into difficulties by sparing a man who might make him repent of it when it should be too late. Accordingly he was sent a prisoner out of Herod's suspicious temper to Machærus, the castle I before mentioned and was there put to death. Now, the Jews had an opinion that the destruction of this army was sent as a punishment upon Herod and a mark of God's displeasure against him. So Vitellius prepared to make war with Aretis having with him two legions of armed men etc.\*

Retracing our steps to the partition of Herod the Great's dominions we find that Archelaus was appointed ethnarch of Judæa and Samaria. Like his father, he had a taste for grand architecture, but he ruled badly. Loud complaints from the Jews reached the emperor's ears and Archelaus was removed to Gaul (6 C.E.) As illustrating the modes of religious thought of the age, it is worth noting that both

excited the peasants with rebellious speeches declaring that the taxation was Roman tyranny and imploring the people, in God's name to strike a blow for liberty. It was not long before the movement produced a party of *Zelots* (or *Kannaim*), so named on account of their enthusiasm and devotion. They were Commonwealth men determined on winning freedom for the Hebrew nation and abjuring all lords and rulers but God. Wild were their words and fierce their deeds. By the more timid Jews they were denounced as robbers and cut throats. In reality their violence was the effect of religious fanaticism.\*

The census of Quirinius has been a subject of much disputation among the learned owing to a reference in the gospel of Luke (ii). In those days says the Christian writer in relating the birth of Jesus there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus that all the world should be taxed. And this taxing was first made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria. And all went to be taxed, everyone into his own city. And Joseph also went up from Galilee out of the city of Nazareth into Judæa unto the city of David which is called Bethlehem the point of the story being that, by a kind of political accident Jesus was born at Bethlehem in the days of Herod the Great. But there are objections to Luke's statement. A general census of the empire in the reign of Augustus is not known to have taken place, under the Roman procedure persons were registered at their dwelling places and were not compelled to travel the town whence their family was derived. no Roman census would have been carried out in Judæa which was then governed by Herod who though a vassal to Rome controlled the native taxes and Quirinius was not governor of Syria in the time of Herod the Great†.

After two other procurators had followed Coponius Pontius Pilate took over the government for ten years (26 to 36). Pilate displayed great want of tact and much contemptuous ill will towards the Jews. Once he ordered the soldiers to carry banners bearing the emperor's figure at another time he arrayed on the walls of the prætorium a number of gilded

\* The writer of Acts (v. 37) wrongly places the disturbance by Judas in the days of the taxing after the resurrection of Theudas.

† The question is minutely examined by Schürer *op. cit.* vol. i.

shields inscribed with the name of the Emperor Tiberius. On each occasion the people wrathfully assembled, and would not cease their commotion till the offensive objects were hidden from view. The water supply of Jerusalem was insufficient. Pilate resolved on making a new aqueduct, and took possession of the Temple treasure to pay the expense of construction. A riot ensued, which was suppressed by the blades of the Roman cohort. Samaria, also, was agitated. A certain man, half witted or perhaps a rogue, led a gaping multitude to Mount Gerizim, announcing that he would there dig up some sacred vessels once buried by Moses. The danger of Zealotry was growing, and probably Pilate felt uneasy at this muster of superstitious rustics. Roman horse and foot were sent down to Gerizim. The assembly was broken up, and many of the ignorant villagers were put to the sword. The Samaritans complained to the Court of Rome, and Pilate was deprived of his office.

It is again necessary to turn aside, in order to deal with the famous "testimony" which Josephus was, for a very long time, believed to have offered to the miraculous career of Jesus Christ. The paragraph (for it is nothing more than a small paragraph in the large volume of the "*Antiquities*") was known to the historian Eusebius in the fourth century, and was accepted all through the Middle Ages as genuine. Yet it is remarkable that the eminent Christian apologist Origen (died 254) should make no mention of the passage, while, in arguing with Celsus, he eagerly quoted Josephus on the subject of James, the "brother of Jesus Christ."\* As in the case of the reference to *John the Baptist*, so here, it will be advisable to quote the passage and context (the context in italics). This context is of a very singular character. Preceding the "testimony" to Christ is a narration of the tumult which occurred in consequence of Pilate laying hands on the sacred treasury in order to build an aqueduct. Following the "testimony" is an anecdote of a libidinous scamp who, under cover of night, assumed the character of the Egyptian god Anubis, and dishonoured a credulous Roman lady, who had been enticed to the temple of Isis in the hope of receiving divine favours:—

\* In his essay, "*Against Celsus*," I., chapter 47. Origen also knew of Josephus's allusion (genuine or not) to *John the Baptist*.



"Since the people were unarmed, and were caught by men prepared for what they were about, there were a great number of them slain by this means, and others of them ran away wounded, and thus an end was put to this sedition. Now, there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles. He was the Christ, and when Pilate at the suggestion of the principal men amongst us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at the first did not forsake him, for he appeared to them alive again the third day, as the divine prophets had foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him, and the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day. About the same time also another sad calamity put the Jews into disorder, and certain shameful practices happened about the temple of Isis that was at Rome. I will not first take notice of the wicked attempt about the temple of Isis," etc \*

The objections to the passage are fatal. So extraordinary an event as a resurrection from the dead would not have been thus briefly dismissed by Josephus, or inserted miscellaneously between reports of a riot and an act of debauchery, Josephus was not a Christian and would not therefore have stooped to call Jesus "the Christ," neither would he have used the half-doubtful, half-reverential expression "if it be lawful to call him a man," and it is incredible that a Jew who believed "ten thousand other wonderful things" had been foretold by the national prophets concerning Jesus should carelessly pass on without even quoting one.

After the departure of Pilate the legate Vitellius pleased the citizens of Jerusalem by remitting the market tolls on fruit, and by restoring to the Temple the sacred vestments of the High priest, which had been for many years kept in the Roman citadel, and only handed over to the High priest at festival seasons. While Caius Caligula reigned over the empire (37 to 41) disaster threatened the Jews in Jerusalem, and took the terrible form of persecution in the colony at Alexandria. To Caligula emperor worship was not a mere

\* "Antiquities," book xvii, chap. iii., 2, 3, 4.

political form indicating obedience to the behests of Rome. It must be everywhere observed with zeal and regularity. The Jews flatly refused to obey. In Alexandria their fidelity to their national religion, was made an excuse for an outbreak of Jew-baiting. The governor of Egypt outlawed the Hebrew population. Houses and stores were plundered. Wretched Israelites were dragged through the streets by the mob, beaten, murdered, mutilated. Images of Caligula were tauntingly erected in the synagogues. Members of the Jewish Council were publicly whipped, some dying under the lash, in the theatre; and there, too, weeping Hebrew women were forced, in the presence of mocking crowds, to taste the detested flesh of swine. A little company of Jews made their way to Rome to implore mercy and justice for their community. One of these ambassadors was the renowned Philo. The emperor gave them audience, but only to repel them with sneers and cheap jests. Meanwhile an order had been issued to the legate of Syria, Petronius, to place the imperial statue in the Temple at Jerusalem. All Palestine quivered with alarm. Deputations waited upon the governor; old men and young, women and children, passionately beseeching that the House of God might not be profaned. Petronius faltered, moved with generous pity; and, while he delayed, the emperor was hacked to death by the daggers of assassins, and all Jewdom echoed with cries of joy. Claudius, the new emperor, wished to stand well with the Jews. Caligula had already invested Herod Agrippa, a grandson of Herod the Great, with the lordship over the countries once ruled by Philip and Antipas. Claudius now added Samaria and Judæa, and, as king and consul, Agrippa entered Jerusalem amid the greetings of the people. For three years (41 to 44) peace settled over Palestine. The Law was honoured by the Court; the Pharisees enjoyed the royal favour. Agrippa, with his own hands, offered first-fruits in the Temple, and even caused his son-in-law to undergo circumcision. Before all the citizens he read the book of Deuteronomy at the Feast of Tabernacles, and when he recited a passage which forbids the setting of a stranger on the throne he was visibly affected (for he was of Edomite race), and the people encouragingly shouted, "Be not, grieved, Agrippa; thou art our brother!" Perhaps the emotion was not wholly

sincere, for, beyond the borderline of his strictly Jewish territory Agrippa did no scruple to play the pagan and at Berytus built a theatre, amphitheatre, baths, piazzas and sanctioned gladiatorial massacres in the name of sport. Dramatic circumstances surrounded Agrippa's death. Clad in a robe of sparkling silver thread he appeared in the theatre of Cesarea and was flatteringly hailed as divine by the multitude. Shortly afterwards he was seized with a paroxysm of pain and he died in five days. The author of the Acts of the Apostles has improved upon the story given in Josephus by suggesting that Agrippa was carried off because instead of rendering due glory to God he accepted the unmerited homage himself (Acts xii 20-23). On the decease of Agrippa the system of government by procurators was resumed and the old wounds bled afresh. *Affairs fell more and more into confusion.* The religious irritability of the Hebrews became keener. Grosser and more frequent grew the insults flung by the Romans at their vassals. Seditionous murmurs ran through the land. One Theudas collected a multitude, and promised to prove his claim to prophetic rank by dividing the river Jordan at the word of command and conducting his followers over dry shod. A detachment of cavalry was despatched in pursuit and the head of the slain Theudas was presently carried back to Jerusalem. A famine followed though it did not as the author of the Acts of the Apostles suggests (xi 28) extend over all the world. The Zealots were active and two ringleaders sons of Judas the Gaulanite were crucified. A dreadful conflict took place in the streets of the Holy City between the troops and the people, and many lives were lost the tumult having arisen through an indecent and derisive gesture made by a soldier at the Passover assembly in the Temple courts. On another occasion a Roman mockingly tore up a roll of the Torah but in this case the procurator yielded to the angry pressure of the Jews, and the offender was beheaded. A party of pilgrims journeying to the capital had been murdered in a Samarian village. No redress was afforded by the governor. A swarm of Zealots burst into Samaria and harried village after village slaying and spoiling. Then the inevitable Roman regiments intervened the leaders were beheaded and many of the rebels died on the cross. Amid this reign

of terror and blood the procuratorship changed hands, and, in 52, Felix was appointed governor. His advent made matters worse. Prisons were filled with Zealots, for, indeed, a large part of the nation were being drawn into the commonwealth enthusiasm; and everywhere executioners were busy nailing unhappy patriots to the cross. As Felix waxed more severe, so did the Jewish temper rise. A society of Sicarii, or Dagger-men, was formed, and, in street and market-place and at festive gatherings, partisans of Rome were mortally and mysteriously stabbed by unseen knives. Even Jonathan the High-priest was assassinated. Jerusalem was set in uproar by the sudden approach of an Egyptian Jew at the head of a disordered host of country folk, who had followed him from the hillside villages in the belief that he was a prophet, and that he would cause the walls of the city to fall down and afford free entrance; and then the Romans would be crushed, and a glorious republic be established. The cohorts sallied out; blood was spilt in abundance, and the Egyptian escaped. In the year 60 Felix was recalled by the emperor Nero. At the name of Nero, which is not without significance in the history of Christianity, we may pause, in order to glance back at the somewhat scanty literature of the eventful period just traversed.\*

Once more we take up the *Book of Enoch*. Of the several writers whose compositions find a place in this remarkable book, one cast his doctrine into the form of visions which he calls "Similitudes" or Allegories. The Similitudes, however, are characterised by very little art, and are merely a series of loosely-connected pictures of the unseen world. They are three in number. (1) The leading theme is the sharp distinction between the righteous and the wicked, both in character and destiny. Light will appear to the elect, but as for the sinners, "it had been good for them if they had not been born." A whirlwind carries Enoch to heaven, where he sees the mansions of the holy, and the Elect One (Messiah). All the saints are resplendent, and their lips extol the name of the Lord of Spirits, crying "Holy, holy, holy." Among the angels are Michael, the merciful; Rufael, the healer; Gabriel, the

\* Schürer, *loc. cit.* pp. 11, 12, 13, furnishes full details of the whole period.

intercessor, Taniel, president over repentant hope and defender of souls from accusing Satans. The secrets of the heavens are displayed to Enoch the divine mechanism of lightning and thunder the orbits of sun and moon and stars, and the celestial seat of Wisdom. (2) 'I saw One, relates Enoch, "who had a head of days (i.e., the Ancient One) "and his heat was white like wool, and with him was another being (Messiah) whose countenance had the appearance of a man and his face was full of graciousness like one of the holy angels. And I asked the angel who went with me and showed me all the hidden things, concerning that Son of Man, who he was." The Son of Man will grind to powder the teeth of sinners, "darkness will be their dwelling and worms their bed." But the names of the just are inscribed in the books of the living. For them is reserved a fountain whence they will drink draughts of wisdom. The day comes when the grave will yield up its dead, the hills will be radiant at the advent of the Elect One, the mountains of metal will dissolve and furnish no more material for warlike weapons. In a deep valley the souls of mankind will assemble. Evil kings and nations are scourged and scattered. Sinful angels are flung into the abyss. (3) The lot of the saints is depicted. There will be no end to the days of their life, they will seek the light and find righteousness with the Lord of Spirits. Angels with long cords measure the borders of Paradise and there the people of God are placed in peace always blessing his name. From Messiah's mouth issues a destroying word to cast down the wicked and pagan kings though gnawed with grievous pain will perforce glorify the Son of Man before they are banished from his presence. And from henceforth there will be nothing that is corruptible. The Similitudes close with a brief statement of Enoch's translation to heaven 'on the chariots of the spirit. The editor of 'Enoch' seems to have made many additions throughout the book which, there is reason to believe were transcribed from a work now lost the Apocalypse of Noah. These fragments contain various allusions to the deluge, the fallen angels etc. One, for example begins. And in those days Noah saw the earth that it was sinking down and its destruction was nigh. Noah cries to his grandfather Enoch in terror and is soothed with the tidings that, while

the demons and sorcerers are to be visited with wrath, and waters will be let loose upon the world, he will be preserved, and his posterity raised to kingship. Another fragment tells of the mystical beasts, Leviathan and Behemoth, but does not mention their destination as food for the elect (p. 144). The final chapter of "Enoch," due to the editor, is Essenic in tone, praise being awarded to the saints, "who loved God and loved neither gold nor silver, nor any of the goods of the world, but gave over their bodies to torture; and who, since they came into being, longed not after earthly food, but regarded their bodies as a breath that passeth away, and lived accordingly, and were much tried by the Lord, and their spirits were found pure."\*

A verse in the Christian epistle of Jude runs thus: "But Michael the archangel, when contending with the devil he disputed about the body of Moses, durst not bring against him a railing judgment, but said, The Lord rebuke thee." Origen knew the passage, and referred it to a work called the *Assumption (Ascension) of Moses*. An incomplete Latin version exists, and this was probably rendered from a Greek copy. The little book appears to be from the hand of a Zealot, who expresses his views of history and destiny through the mouth of Moses. Just before his departure from earth Moses discloses to Joshua the outline of the future fortunes of Israel, the settlement in Palestine, the Exile, the return, the corrupt Hasmonæan family, the insolent king who misruled Judæa for thirty-four years (evidently meaning Herod the Great), and the desperate times of fire, and crucifixion, and wine-bibbing princes. A leader will arise from the tribe of Levi. God's kingdom shall be manifested, the Devil's abolished. Earth shall quake, mountains tremble, the sun darken, the moon redden, the sea sink into the abyss, idols be destroyed, and happy Israel mount up on the back of heavenward-flying eagles. Joshua raises timid objections to this brilliant

\* The Noachian additions are carefully marked by Mr. Charles. The general result of Mr. Charles's critical research is to throw back the date of "Enoch"—the older documents to the period 160-100 B.C., the Similitudes about 70 B.C., and the final editing to some uncertain year before the beginning of the Christian era.

forecast Moses re-assures him—and here the manuscript ends\*.

Some years later (an unknown Jew gave his countrymen a very free commentary on the book of Genesis in a work usually called the *Book of Jubilees* and sometimes *Little Genesis*. From Aramaic the manuscript was very likely done into Greek and thence into the existing Ethiopic version. The author mentions the book of Enoch. Moses is described as receiving while on Mount Sinai a revelation from an angel. The angel draws a plan of the future divided into jubilees or periods of forty-nine years. Curious additions are made to the old stories, such as that before the Fall of Man all animals could speak, the names of the patriarchs' wives, angels brought the animals into the ark, Cain died through the fall of his house, Jacob's war with Amorite kings, Abram set fire to a heathen temple. Much is made of the number Seven (jubilee—7 = 7 years). Nothing is said of a resurrection or of a Messiah. No one, indeed, is to hold sway over Israel but God. As to the heathen Ammon, Moab and the rest, they are marked out for extermination. Stress is laid upon the duty of sacrifice and the observance of festivals. By obedience to the Torah the portion of Israel should be holiness and peace for ever†.

Some surprise may have been felt by the reader at the omission of the careers of Jesus and Paul. The truth is that outside the New Testament no histories are available to help us in assigning precise chronological positions to the leading events (apart from miraculous occurrences) narrated in the New Testament. Yet undoubtedly a new religion was being generated. It is little short of a calamity that so much obscurity should gather over the origins of Christianity. We must however make the best of our slender materials. And as a first step it will be necessary to review the religious condition of those regions of the world in the centre of which the new faith first saw the

\* Schürer *div.* vol. iii. and a translation in an article by W. J. Deane in the *Monthly Interpreter* 1885.

† Schürer *div.* vol. i. and an article by W. J. Deane in the *Monthly Interpreter* 1885.

light. If the main stream of Christianity sprang from Judaism, it still received powerful tributaries from Gentile thought and custom.

24. *The Religious Environment of Early Christianity.*—Our method will take the following form: a brief consideration of the spiritual situation in Palestine itself; then, working from the remoter to the nearer areas, a scrutiny of certain features in the religions of India, Buddhism, Mithraism, Egypt, Greece, and Rome; a glance at the Diaspora, or scattered settlements of Jews in foreign lands; the influence of Philo; early Gnosticism, etc. It goes without saying that these divisions will occasionally overlap, for religious movements overflow political boundaries and wondrously intermingle.

*Palestine.*—There is no need to dwell upon the religious genius of the Jewish people, their veneration for the One God, their devotion to Scripture and Temple, their capacity for cheerful compliance with the complicated ceremonial system which had been built up on the ancient Torah, their conscientiousness and temperance, their narrow-minded contempt for worldly arts and politics, their strong faith in resurrection and immortality, their readiness to listen to reports of angelic visions and miraculous occurrences, their fretful discontent with Roman rule, their intense longing for a Messianic prince. Judaism was still incompletely developed. Only part of the Talmud was composed. The shock of the destruction of the Holy City had yet to be endured, and the work of recovery to be effected. But after giving birth to Christianity Judaism would go on its own road, leaving its offspring (if we may so speak) to be suckled by Gentile breasts.

It should be carefully observed that there existed, within the limits of Palestine, more than one class who were regarded as outside the pale of select Jewdom. There were Abrianim—*i.e.*, sinners and transgressors of the Law; such were the farmers of taxes and all who were connected with the support of Roman government. Of course, the term "sinners" must be leniently interpreted. Among the Abrianim there were doubtless included dissolute and disreputable characters; yet doubtless, also, many were honourable enough men and well-conducted civil servants, who



the Hellenised towns were Pella, Joppa, and Gaza. Many of these cities enjoyed their own independent municipal government. In some the Jewish populations formed the majority; in others, the Gentile. Everywhere in Palestine the Greek language was heard, though the poorer classes knew only Aramaic. Houses were built in Greek style. Greek music was not unknown in the Temple. The current coin, of course, was Roman. Commerce brought to Palestine a hundred reminders of the great world for which the puritan Hebrew cared so little—Median beer, Egyptian lentils, Bithynian cheese; Indian cotton, Cilician haircloth, Greek and Roman furniture: these and numerous other objects of trade are referred to in the early Talmud. Proselytes (Gentile converts to Judaism) often made pilgrimages to Jerusalem; and many Jews of the Dispersion were so far moulded into pagan usage of speech and demeanour that they found it convenient to establish special synagogues of their own in the Holy City, as, for instance, the Libertines and Cyrenians. Nevertheless, this influx of foreign elements, while it left evident marks on the thought and carriage of the more pliable Jews, only roused the stricter Israelite circles into intenser repulsion. To them the Gentile was unclean; to enter a Gentile house was unclean. "If any one," ran the Rabbinic precept, "buys kitchen utensils of a Gentile, he must dip what is to be purified by dipping, boil what is to be boiled, and heat in the fire what is to be heated." Neither could a true Israelite sit down to meals at a Gentile table.\*

*Buddhism.*—Alexander the Great opened up India for the West. The Phœnicians carried on trade with India; and Indian cotton, as we have just seen, was purchased by the Jews. The Buddhist king, Asoka (3rd century B.C.), sent out missionaries in all directions, and one of his stone inscriptions is said to mention the Ptolemies of Egypt. North-west of India lies a highland region formerly called Baktria, and here, about 140-110 B.C., there reigned a Greek king, Menander. His chief city was finely constructed, and crowded with bazaars. Hither came a Buddhist sage, Nagasena, bent on teaching the king the saving truth. Upon this incident a Buddhist author based

a singularly interesting work entitled the "Questions of King Milinda" (Menander) in which the doctrines of Buddhism are set forth in a species of Socratic dialogue.\* Thus again, another route is suggested by which Buddhist ideas may have travelled to Western Asia. The Essenes in their frugal living love of peace humble dress baptismal rites and mystic doctrines of ecstasy and the soaring of the soul from the prison house of the body, afford notable likenesses to the monks of Buddhism. And both the legendary career and the teaching of Buddha find answering features in the career and teaching of the Christian Jesus as displayed in the Four (canonical) Gospels and various uncanonical (apocryphal) gospels. Opinion is extremely divided on the question as to whether Christianity took over traits from Buddhism though there can be no disagreement as to the fact that remarkable similarities do occur. In face of these difficulties the simplest plan will be to lay before the reader some notes of the views held on different sides of the controversy. In this controversy the two most perplexing points are (1) By what means if any, did Buddhistic doctrines reach the West? Some slight indications of a possible route have just been given. (2) Which of the Buddhist legends were older than Christianity? This inquiry is obviously one which only scholars can answer.

Professor Rhys Davids† endeavours to sift out the actual facts of Buddha's life. Gotama son of a raja (chief) was born in a village at the foot of the Himalayas passed through mental struggles sought wisdom from teachers of repute, lived a life of penance for six years endured a crisis of spiritual temptation under the Bo tree, attained peace of mind published his way of moral salvation for forty five years and died in the midst of his disciples. Speculation and legend afterwards contributed countless details to his career. Before Buddhism arose India had believed in a

\* Questions of King Milinda in Sacred Books of the East vol. xxxv.

† Herbert Lectures on Buddhism and Buddism (a popular manual). In the latter Mr Davids dates Buddha's death 412 B.C.; in the Lectures he places the date of birth between the middle and the end of the 6th century B.C. Buddha is said to have died at the age of eighty.

Chakkā-vatti, a king of kings, a supreme conqueror, a righteous prince ruling a happy world. One readily thinks of the Jewish Messiah. At first Chakka-vatti had been credited with only material grandeur, his treasures were the thousand-spoked Wheel, the swift Elephant, the flying Horse, the sparkling Veluriya gem, the beauteous Pearl among Women; the Horse, Wheel, and Elephant being, indeed, emblems of the sun. But early Buddhism refined these conceptions, looked up to a Teacher rather than a King, and saw in the Wheel a symbol of the advancing truth. And Gotama was exalted into Buddha, the Enlightened, the Man of Insight, who possessed the true knowledge and made it known to others, and revealed the higher life in all its purity and perfectness. While this more philosophic conception of Buddha was being created, minds which loved grosser things invented fanciful wonders for his biography—his mother was the best of women; his birth occurred without the intervention of a father; his mother dreamed of his coming glory; his birth was heralded with prophecies of his mission to the world; his youthful character was distinguished above that of his companions; he taught his teachers; aged saints raised psalms of praise to him; his crisis of temptation was a contest with Mara, the spirit of evil; and angels fluttered about his path. Of Buddha's gospel the central point was the doctrine of Karma, the moral fate which pursues a spirit from one body to another until the soul conquers and casts out all passion, all desire, all perturbation, and enters into the inexpressible peace of Nirvana. Sometimes Buddha is made to utter beatitudes on moral conduct: "Much insight and education, self-control and pleasant speech, and whatever word be well spoken; this is the greatest blessing. To bestow alms and live righteously, to give help to kindred, deeds which cannot be blained; these are the greatest blessing. To abhor and cease from sin, Abstinence from strong drink, Not to be weary in well-doing: These are the greatest blessings," etc. "The treasure is that laid up by man or woman through charity and piety, temperance and self-control—a treasure that no wrong of others and no thief can steal." "Never in this world does hatred cease by hatred; hatred ceases by love." "Follow not after vanity, nor familiarity with the delight of lust, for the earnest

ledge), which the Gnostics claimed to possess was the direct outcome of the doctrine of perfect Knowledge promulgated by Buddha. Mr. Lillie finds many more and far closer coincidences between Buddhist and Christian legends of the Master than Professor Davids would admit—such as that Buddha was said to be born on Christmas Day; that he had twelve chief disciples; the words of Buddha will last though the heavens fall and the earth is swallowed up; the disciples were commanded to watch; Buddha said, "How hardly shall the rich man instruct himself in the Way;" Buddha was called "God Man" and Saviour; he washed the feet of a loathsome old monk; he was transfigured on a mountain; he sat down with his followers to a last meal, pork being the food partaken of. This last incident is typical of many other alleged parallels which exhibit curious divergences from the corresponding Christian episodes.\*

The reader will probably agree that the reflections of Buddhism apparently exhibited by Christianity are too remarkable to be omitted from our present survey. We cannot avoid asking how these likenesses came about. At the same time, we are impelled to inquire why, if Christianity came into intimate communication with the beliefs of the Buddhists, it should yet have retained such doctrines as that of the resurrection from the dead, or of the necessity for the death of Jesus on the cross.

*Hinduism.*—The old Vedic religion had given place to Brahmanism, and Brahmanism merged into the complex network of faiths now known as Hinduism. Three eminent gods were formed into a trinity—Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva. Of these Vishnu came into most intimate relation with mankind. From the mystic heights of godhood he descended whenever truth was in jeopardy and evil appeared triumphant, and he thus fulfilled the function of Saviour which was performed by the Jewish Messiah. But his incarnations were frequent, and indeed innumerable. As a tortoise he supported the earth, as a fish he guided Manu's

\* An elaborate argument, the gist of which may be judged by the title, "The Angel Messiah of Buddhists, Essenes, and Christians," has been constructed by E. de Bunsen, but it appears to me more ingenious than reliable.

ark across the deluge as a man lion he contended with demons. Of these avatars (descents) of Vishnu none was so popular as that which took the form of Krishna Krishna the Black One (signifying originally the sun hidden at night) was born amid amazing signs—the sea murmured musically the celestial nymphs sang the gods dropped flowers. His mother placed her babe in a basket cradle. On the very night of his birth the parents, Vasudeva and Devaki had to carry him away for fear of his uncle King Kamsa who had been warned that his life was in danger from a son of Devaki and who had already slain seven of her previous children. At the time of the birth certain people appear carrying tribute to the king Krishna was placed in charge of Nanda the shepherd. He and his brother Rama slew monsters or sported with shepherdesses. They slew Kamsa and Krishna became king and waged wars. Among the marvellous feats which marked him out as divine were the healing of a young woman whose back was bent the descent into the infernal city in order to deliver from the lord of hell two children whose loss was bewailed by their mother the victory over the great serpent Kaliya etc. The career of Krishna was represented in a popular drama. Hindu pictures and images show the figure of Krishna as a babe at his mother's breast. In Chaldaea which lay between India and Palestine such images of a female deity carrying a child were known in ancient times. In all these features we cannot help discerning resemblances to points in the story of Jesus—the birth at the period of taxing the massacre of the innocents by Herod the Madonna and Child which afterwards took so prominent a place in the Christian creed etc. These likenesses have even induced Christian writers to attempt to prove Hindu imitation of the Gospel history but no solid basis for such arguments has been made out. Rather the possibility suggests itself that some stray threads of the Krishna legend have been woven into that of Jesus of Nazareth.\*

*Mithrism*—Mithra (Mihir) in the early Vedic religion was a sun-god. He re-appears in the Parsee system as a

\* See a careful examination of these questions in J. M. Robertson's *Christ and Krishna*. abundant references to authorities are given.

valiant ally of Ahura-Mazda. A psalm entitled the Mihir Yast is addressed to him in the Zend-Avesta. He is praised with a rich profusion of epithets—lord of wide pastures, thousand-eared, ten thousand-eyed, sleepless, holy, strong, all-knowing. Mithra is the incarnate Word, the kind preserver of all creatures, a listener to prayers. He creates the ties which bind friend to friend, husband to wife, father to son, nation to nation. To him nobody must lie, neither the master of a house, nor the lord of a borough, nor the lord of a town, nor the lord of a province. Lifting his arms towards the abode of the immortals, he is drawn swiftly athwart the heaven in a golden-wheeled car by four white stallions.\* As is the case universally with such myths, legendary details were added from time to time. Mithra was said to be double-sexed, and sculptors made use of the idea by representing him as masculine in form, but feminine in face. He is thus figured in the familiar carvings at the British Museum of "Mithra slaying the bull." Here an astronomical connection is suggested, for the bull was once the zodiacal sign of the spring season, and the scorpion which is seen attacking the bull was the autumnal sign; the meaning apparently being that the sun was fated to traverse the summer sky only to descend through autumn to the depth of winter. Mithra was fabled to have been born in a cave, and he was sometimes entitled "Rock-born." In caves the Mithraic rites were celebrated by the priests. Festivals were held in his honour at the winter solstice (Christmas), when the sun rises from his winter cave, and at Easter, when the day begins to gain pre-eminence over the night. The first day of the week was also sacred to him. Mithra's birth was dramatically acted in a "mystery," or symbolic ceremony. A stone image was laid upon a bier at night-time; the people pretended to mourn; then the mimic corpse was removed, lights were brought in, congratulations were expressed, and the priests anointed the throats of the worshippers, exhorting to courage and promising salvation from sorrow. At other times a round cake of bread and a cup of water were presented to the worshippers. They who devoted themselves to Mithra's service were termed his soldiers. Painful

\* "Sacred Books of the East," vol. xxiii.

ordeals had to be borne by the initiates—fasting, thirst, branding, scourging. The new disciple was baptised, and received a sword and a crown in token of warfare and victory. A mark was made on the forehead of the initiate. A favourite emblem exhibited two figures standing by Mithra, one holding a lowered torch symbolising death and the setting sun, the other a raised torch indicating life and the rising sun. Soldiers especially favoured the Mithraic religion. It was cultivated in Cilicia, and thence spread to Italy, in the time of Pompey. Rapidly it advanced from province to province. It was one of the most powerful rivals of Christianity. Emperors adopted it, and even Constantine, professed Christian though he had become, did not hesitate to stamp his coins with a Mithraic figure and the Mithraic inscription, *Dei soli invicti*—To the invincible sun-god. A kind of Freemasonry may be detected in the fraternal bonds between the members of the Mithraic sect. In the course of time Mithraism seems to have adopted the Phrygian custom of the Taurobolia, in compliance with which the devotee descended into a pit and was drenched with a shower of blood from a sacrificed bull, thus hoping to attain new birth and eternal purification. In various parts of Europe, and even in Britain Mithraic sculptures have been discovered.

The conspicuous likenesses between certain rites of Mithraism and Christianity need not be emphasised. It is scarcely to be wondered at that the Christian fathers viewed the competing religion with little favour. Justin Martyr and Tertullian flatly accused the devils of having invented the ceremonies which so distinctly anticipated Christian usage.\*

*Egypt*—Great as were the diversities in the symbols by which the Egyptians represented the divine essence—bull, hawk, beetle, lion, asp, etc.—the more philosophic minds were able to rise to the conception of one Supreme God, who was veiled under the names of Amun, Ra, Itah, Sutech, Chnum, Atum, Ithoth, or Osiris, according to the changing fashions of the time or place. Amun ra was glorified in eloquent psalms as “the Greatest in heaven, the Oldest on

\* J. M. Robertson's lecture on “Mithraism” in “Religious Systems of the World.” C. W. A. D. N. “Gnostics and the Irenaia.”

earth, the Lord who gives to everything existence and duration ;" "His hands give to those whom he loves, but his enemy he casts down into the fire ;" "Men are born from his loom, from his word the gods receive their being. He makes the plants for the beasts, and fruit bearing trees for mortals. He makes the fish live in the water, the birds beneath the vault of heaven .... In thy rest thou watchest over men, and considerest what is best for the beasts..... As high as heaven, as wide-stretching as the earth, as deep as the sea, the gods fall down before thy majesty, extolling the spirit of him who has created all things..... Praise to thy spirit because thou hast made us ; we are thy creatures ; thou hast placed us in the world.\* The ethical elements in the Egyptian religion expressed themselves with most strength in the worship of Osiris, the sun-god who dies daily under the power of the serpent Apap, the demon of night, and rises from the dead each morning in the form of his son Horus, the conqueror of the Evil One. To Osiris, the Risen One, and the everlasting pledge of immortality, the Egyptian turned when he thought of death, to Osiris he prayed for grace ; to gain the favour of Osiris he walked in the way of righteousness, behaving with kindness and pity, practising moderation and chastity, observing just weights and measures, respecting the goods of his neighbour, giving bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, clothes to the naked, shelter to the wanderers, in Osiris he trusted to deliver his soul from the terrors of the underworld ; to Osiris he looked for just judgment when his virtues were weighed in the mystic balance, and in Osiris he hoped to merge his very being in the land of endless light.† Thus we find, as features common to the Egyptian creed and to Christianity, faith in a Creator, the doctrine of a slain and risen God who triumphs over the Evil One, and a belief in the immortality of the soul • But there are other points of likeness. Egypt had many divine triads, or groups of three gods, of which, as the birth of Christianity approached, the most conspicuous was that of Osiris, his consort Isis, and their child Horus. \*The worship of Osiris became blended with the worship of the Asiatic god Serapis. Horus was

\* Tiele's "History of the Egyptian Religion," chap. vii.

† Ibid, chaps. iii. and ix.





found no difficulty in procuring an easy livelihood. Religious associations or clubs sprang up, and the emperor Tiberius, alarmed at their growth, expelled both the Egyptian and Jewish proselytes from Rome. Succeeding emperors, however, encouraged these foreign cults. At the end of the second Christian century the names of Isis and Serapis were familiar throughout the empire. And it should be observed that the main channel by which the customs and ideas of Egypt found their way to Europe was the city of Alexandria, that marvellous meeting place of religions.

While the unlearned folk were fascinated by the outward display of the new Egyptian worship, contemplative spirits were trying to refine the doctrines into a creed which approached monotheism. Serapis became one with Zeus, supreme master of nature and spiritual beings. Or universal power was ascribed to Isis, mistress of the elements, the heavenly vault, the ocean winds, the lugubrious depths of hell. A further step of imagination made Isis one with the universe. Men cried to Serapis "Protect us!" and Isis was regarded as a tender and watchful mother, requiring, in turn, that her children should be temperate, and exercise restraint over all passions and lusts, and seek communion with the divine nature. The future life acquired new attractions. "Have confidence" was written upon the tombs of the disciples of Serapis and Isis. It was true the soul was destined to pass through a season of trial, but all was well with the servants of God. "May Osiris," was the pious wish of the Romans for their dead, "grant refreshing water to thy parched soul." Everywhere the initiates in the mysteries saw the symbol of the lotus flower, whose white cup, opening each morning on the surface of the water, symbolised the revival of the soul after death. The worse side of the Isis cult was seen in the spread of belief in magic. Fortune telling by stars, by palmistry, by dreams, and by consultation with the dead, was practised among the vulgar folk, and even noble families kept their diviners. Festivals, on a grand and spectacular scale, were introduced, the greatest being a celebration, in November, of the Death and Resurrection of Osiris. The temples of Isis were crowded on the first day with multitudes, who raised deafening cries of anguish; on the third day shouts of joy hailed the sup-

posed finding of the living god resuscitated from the dead, and banquets were spread and public games were held. Over the hearths and in the niches of many a Roman dwelling the old Lares or household gods were displaced by figures of the Alexandrian deities. Priests and priestesses of Isis became familiar to the citizens of the Empire. Colleges were erected to which the devout retired for meditation and austere self-discipline.\*

*Greece and Rome*—Just as in Egypt the swarm of popular deities did not hinder reflective natures from attaining to a conception of the One God, so in Greece the multitude of picturesque divinities, Zeus, Aphrodite, Athena, Herakles, and the like did not prevent the rise of a sublimer theology among the intellectual classes. Among the Stoics the universe was thought to be one existence, pervaded by a divine force or its phenomena were regarded as products evolved from the essence of God, none of them coming so close to the divine ideal as the human soul. By the Platonic school a two-fold conception was favoured, the pure spirit of God being contrasted with the inferior material world. God shaped the world as a carpenter gave form to wood. But as if the direct handling or even planning of matter were considered too gross an occupation for the Divine Being, the creative forces were represented as a series of lower divinities and the architectural energy which designed and overlooked the making of visible nature was concentrated in the Demiurgus, or creator. Some early Christians, such as Marcion were attracted by this doctrine, and even accounted for the presence of evil and imperfection by affirming that the Demiurgus had set up a rivalry with and enmity against the Supreme, and they believed the office of the Saviour was to establish harmony in the distracted universe. Older Greek thought had often imagined the world as governed by a mysterious Destiny, to which even the gods were slaves. Then the idea of Destiny became transformed into that of Law, and the world was spoken of as Cosmos subject to divine discipline and order, and God was the eternal Reason. As to the problem of evil opinions differed, and while Plato made out

\* G. Lafaye's "Histoire du culte des divinités d'Alexandrie, Sérapis, Harpocrate et Anubis hors de l'Egypte."

that evil was the work of beings baser than the sinless and transcendent One, the Stoics were ready to assert either that all seeming evil was real good, or that men were the authors of their own pains. This solution begat other problems, for, while it endowed man with free-will and the power to work harm or good, it raised the question as to how his possession of free-will clashed with the doctrine of divine government and providence. These difficulties did not cease to agitate the world after the triumph of Christianity. How lofty were the conceptions of God reached by pagan thinkers at the time of the formation of the Christian religion may be seen in the statements of Plutarch: "What, then, is that which really exists? It is the Eternal, the Uncreated, the Undying, to whom time brings no change;" of Maximus of Tyre: "The deity himself is unseen by the sight, unspoken by the voice, untouched by fleshly touch, unheard by the hearing; seen only, through its likeness to him, and heard only, through its kinship with him, by the noblest and purest and clearest-sighted and swiftest and oldest element of the soul;" or of Plotinus: "What was produced was produced without God's moving; .....it had its being without his assenting or willing or being moved in any wise. It was like the light that surrounds the sun and shines forth from it, though the sun is itself at rest; it is reflected like an image." This profound doctrine was too high for the mass, who yearned for God to reveal himself familiarly and intimately, and who willingly believed in abundant dæmons and genii ruling the day and night and weather. The better educated were content with the "Ideas" or "Forms" which the Platonists held to be agencies for the embodiment of the divine nature in things visible and tangible; or with the "Logoi" (singular, Logos; plural, Logoi) or Reasons, which performed the same functions in the system of the Stoics. Presently we shall see to what use the speculative Philo put these Greek conceptions.\*

What beautiful portraiture Greece knew how to give to God was seen, long before the Christian era, in the worship of Apollo, the revealer of the holy will of Zeus. The temple

\* E. Hatch's "Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church," Lectures vii., viii., ix.

of Delphi adorning a secluded valley was visited by throngs of pilgrims, some, doubtless, allured by the hope of obtaining answers from the oracle some by the pleasure of listening to the musical hymns of the choir but others by the prospect of spiritual blessing and purification. Only with a clean heart was Apollo to be approached, on the weak he bestowed aid to the repentant sinner he showed mercy, on the incorrigible he visited penalty even after death his stern demand was for veracity self-control temperance. In the dramatic masterpieces of the poets religion was made to speak eloquently from the stage and the common people seated in the open air theatre learned how the Furies pursued the evil doer and wreaked vengeance for sin. Apollo-worship declined as other cults arose. Athens adored the immaculate virgin Athene spirit of intellect and art and chastity and it was her figure that Pheidias the greatest of Greek sculptors chiselled into a thing of beauty. Athens also worshipped Dionysus the mystic god whose rites had travelled from the East and in whom the people hoped to find satisfaction for the desire of immortality and peace. Greek temples stately elegant and gracefully simple showed Christians how most fittingly to build houses for God\*. From the religious significance given in the Greek public games to the culture of the body Christianity might have gathered a lesson of immense importance.

The most rational and refined elements of religion found expression in Greek philosophy. A magnificent line of schools and teachers exhorted Greece to reason on the Universe, God, and Destiny, and the meaning of Good and Evil and Truth and Falsehood—Thales with his theory of water as the mother of all things. Heraclitus who saw in nature a perpetual flux, the phenomena of the world arising from and returning to a primal fire, the Sophists who made vain disputation and oratory their supreme objects and forgot the essence of philosophy while prizing its forms and elegancies, Socrates who recalled Athens to a sense of the earnestness of life persuaded men to obey the Delphic precept, Know thyself, saw in knowledge the one good

\* Tiele's *History of Religion* "E. de Pressensac's *Ancient World and Christianity*" Valuable as are many portions of M. de Pressensac's work he sometimes plays an unjust Christian bias.

and in Ignorance the one evil; used argument, not as an ornament, but as an instrument for leading the soul from doubt to conviction; and, while believing in a Divine Power which spoke through the human conscience, yet made self-examination and the search for ethical light the chief aim of man; Plato, who systematised and expanded the ideas of Socrates into a theological scheme; made God, not the creator of the original substance of things, but the harmoniser and purifier of the primeval chaos, and parent of Goodness and Beauty; insisted on the distinction of the soul from its bodily envelope, whence it issues after death into an existence of bliss for the pure, and pain for the base; saw in the moral life an imitation of the divine nature; forbade the return of evil for evil; taught that it was a greater evil to do than to suffer an injustice; that to suffer for wrong-doing brought health to the soul; and, finally, embodied his exalted conceptions of a well-ordered State or Church in an imaginary Republic; Aristotle, scientific student of man and nature, who identified God with pure thought, and regarded Ethics as a concern entirely human; the Stoics, who consecrated the idea of justice, recognised the fraternity of mankind, preferred wisdom and poverty to riches and vice, and looked upon the laws and regularities of nature as the working of the Logos, or divine Word; the Epicureans, who took no practical account of the gods, and regarded the universe as a mechanical product of atomic interchange, believed that happiness was the lawful and natural aim of man, and that happiness was best attained by temperance and mutual friendship and indifference to the outward ills of life. More in appearance than in reality, more in words than in essence, did earnest Epicureans differ from earnest Stoics.\* The purest thought of Rome was concentrated in the pages of Cicero and Seneca. Cicero (died 43 B.C.) was an eclectic—that is, he stated the opinions of other philosophers, and approved or disapproved as he chose. With him the object of philosophy was the attainment of such knowledge as could be practically applied to the conduct of life; and this knowledge is the more easily reached since man has a natural

\* E. Zeller's "Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics," chap. xxi.; E. Havet's "Christianisme et ses Origines," vol. 1

aptitude for truth and reflection on his qualities and origin leads him to belief in the existence of God. Yet Cicero did not venture to give a detailed picture of the divine nature, he condemned superstition, but advised the maintenance of the popular religion as a factor in the ordering of the commonwealth. So likewise he believed in the immortality of the soul yet spoke doubtfully as to the nature of the spiritual substance of which the soul consisted.\* Seneca (died 65 C.E.) though a Stoic laid more stress on ethics than theology, and regarded philosophy as the art of living a moral life. Wisdom was a simple thing, and needed no learned dialectic. God was worshipped as the great Providence and source of goodness and justice, rather than as a mere Creator only to be apprehended by metaphysic. The soul was an offspring of the divine reason and was in perpetual conflict with the passions and affections of the fleshly body and with its departure from the body the soul most truly begins to live. All men were morally imperfect, and needed healing, to find salvation from faults was the chief purpose of philosophy, each evening should find a man examining the deeds and thoughts of the past day the gods looked down upon men and a supreme day of judgment would declare the real character of each individual soul. Beyond civic life and politics he prized the conception of the kinship of all mankind. Charitableness in estimating the weaknesses of one's fellows, magnanimity towards enemies are marked features of his teaching. Friendship he highly valued and he wrote a treatise in appreciation of marriage.† Of his many beautiful sayings a few only can be here cited — "I was not born for one corner, my country is the whole world." "This is the mark of a great and good mind to aim, not at any fruit from its kind deeds, but at the kind deeds themselves. Virtue consists in conferring benefits not as destined to return benefits the fruit of which the good man reaps at the moment of conferring them." "The vices of others we have before our eyes, our own behind our backs."

Looking to ourselves will make us more moderate, if we ask ourselves, Have we never done anything of the kind, have we never erred in like manner? "How much

\* E. Zeller's "Eclecticism" chap. v

† *Ibid* chap. viii.

more humane it is to show a gentle and paternal mind towards sinners—not to persecute, but to recall them.” And this benign temper of the Stoic Seneca was but an expression of the ethics of Pittacus, one of the Seven Sages, who, centuries before, had breathed the maxim, “*Forgiveness is better than revenge.*”\*

What shall be said of the morality of that great Roman empire into which Greece was absorbed? Evidently no adequate description is possible in a few sentences. One caution on the subject is needed: we should beware of over statement in favour of, or against, the character of Roman ethics. If the cities were corrupt, it does not follow that country-life was debased; if slavery was universal, it is well to bear in mind that it was usually milder than the oppression which we associate with negro-bondage to the white race; if blood flowed freely at the gladiatorial shows, it was still true that, away from the circus, charity and mercy were not unknown virtues. Greece had persecuted and slain Socrates. No such crime against freedom of thought can be laid at the door of Rome. Philosophers taught their doctrines without hindrance from the State. Women enjoyed respect and no little personal liberty. Slaves were humanely treated; and Seneca sat at the same table with his bondsmen. The epitaph on a tradesman of the age of Augustus describes him as “a good man, pitiful, and a friend of the poor.” Almsgiving was often lavish. Food was distributed (whether wisely or unwisely is not the question) to the populations of the Italian towns and provinces. Medical officers were publicly paid to attend to the sick poor in Rome.† The devotion of the Romans to the idea of Law, evinced in their reverence for the ancient Twelve Tables, and penetrating to every corner of the daily life, was itself a mark of a noble ethical temper. Roman law is even a model for the law student of Europe and America. So formal and civic, indeed, was the Latin genius that religion itself was made a function of the State. And long after the fall of the Roman Empire Christian doctrine in the West was narrowed and stiffened by legal

\* Farrer's “Paganism and Christianity,” chap. ix.

† Renan's “Influence of Rome on Christianity,” Lecture I.; Farrer's “Paganism and Christianity,” chap. ix.



Nowhere did the classic faith in a future life and redemption show itself more vividly than in the drama of the Mysteries. In the beginning the Mysteries of Eleusis (the most celebrated) were allegorical performances before an assembled multitude representing the adventures of the corn seed its committal to the dark earth its rising to the light of day in the form of golden crops and all this under the guise of the myth of the goddess Ceres seeking her lost daughter Proserpine. As time wore on not only the people of Attica but all Greeks and Romans and women as well as men were admitted to these sacred plays. Gradually too the significance of the drama was broadened and the buried seed and the lost daughter became symbols of the human soul destined to a glorious release from the tribulations of earth. Immense fervour animated the beholders of the Mysteries which had now become an intensely religious ritual. As candidates for admission to the solemn scenes were admitted a voice proclaimed "Let no one enter whose hands are not clean and whose tongue is no prudent." In other mysteries the warning ran "He only may enter who is pure from defilement and whose soul is conscious of no wrong, and who has lived well and justly." A ceremony of baptism followed the people bathing in the sea in token of moral cleansing. A nine days fast was undergone to be broken only with specified foods and ending with the sacrifice of a pig by each candidate. Then came a torchlight procession from Athens to Eleusis and a devout partaking of holy drink and holy cakes. At night the torches were put out the crowd waited before the dark temple doors which were suddenly flung open revealing tableaux of the lost daughter and sorrowing mother and suggestive of divine providence over human destiny. At the time Christianity was in course of creation Mysteries resembling those of Eleusis in general character but varied in detail to suit the special doctrines attached to the worship of Isis Mithra etc. had spread throughout the Roman Empire and thus easily paved the way for the acceptance of the Christian mysteries of Baptism and the Eucharist.

It should also be reflected upon that in the Greek world

(for, intellectually speaking there was still a Greek world, though under the political rule of Rome) education was universal. Schools and colleges professors, rhetoricians, tutors and travelling philosophers and lecturers, were all so many marks of educated habit and practice. Public discourses were everywhere delivered by sophists of ingenious argument and ready tongue. The addresses dealt with themes historical moral or theological, or with mystical interpretations of Homer, whose poems were alleged to conceal divine truths. Some of the rhetoricians moved from town to town inviting audiences by sending messengers with written or verbal notices. Some had fixed dwellings and gave lectures at regular intervals. All these elements had their influence on the new born Christianity by imparting formality to its doctrines, and by preparing the road for the advent of the Christian preacher with his popular appeals and exhortations, his artificial commentaries on the Scriptures, his far fetched dogmas \*

*The Diaspora* (or settlements of Jews outside Palestine) After the return of large bodies of Israelites from the Babylonian Exile to Judæa there still remained in the valley of the Euphrates a considerable colony of Jews. Their number was increased by captives brought to Babylonia by the Persians (see p. 95) and afterwards, probably by Jews who emigrated of their own free-will, so that, in the days of Josephus the Hebrew population on this eastern limit of the Roman Empire amounted to many hundred thousands. Large Jewish settlements also existed in Damascus, Antioch, various cities of Asia Minor in Greece and in Italy including Rome itself. But the most remarkable Jewish plantation was that of Alexandria where, in the first century of the Christian era there dwelt a million Israelites. As far west as Cyrene the Hebrew race had penetrated. Wherever they went the Hebrews, as a rule remained loyal to the faith of their Fatherland cherished copies of their holy scriptures, built synagogues, and sent tribute and made pilgrimages to the Temple at Jerusalem. And though the surrounding Gentiles despised the Jews for their racial and religious exclusiveness called their Sabbath a cover for idleness, accused them of adorning an ass's head, and the like, yet

\* Hatch & H. H. H. Lectures II. i. 1, 17

their patience, their steadfastness, their peaceable domestic life made an impression upon many sympathetic and pious minds, and resulted in the conversion of no small numbers to Judaism. Among these converts, or proselytes, women, and occasionally women of noble birth, were conspicuous. The proselytes, of course, varied in loyalty to their adopted faith, some still bowing down to Gentile gods, while others observed with strictness the precepts of the Torah, the rite of circumcision, &c. In order to preserve themselves from admixture with the Gentile races, and to keep pure their faith and ritual, the Jews seem to have everywhere organised their own internal government, with councils, committees, and rulers, who frequently assumed the title of "archon." The Roman emperors accorded a remarkable religious freedom to the Jews, permitting them liberty of assembly and worship, exempting them from military service, and not requiring them to comply with the practice of emperor-worship; and this clemency was continued even after the destruction of Jerusalem. In many cities the Jews enjoyed the full rights of citizenship, though their peace was often disturbed by the hatred and jealousy of their Gentile neighbours. So far did the Israelites accommodate themselves to the outward life of the Gentile world that they almost always made use of the Greek language, and in that language even conducted the services of the synagogues. It will be remembered that, for some centuries, they had been in possession of the Septuagint, a Greek version of their sacred books. It was perfectly natural that, with the Greek language, the more cultured Jews should take in Greek ideas; and thus, in Alexandria especially, that great meeting-place of nations, an important mingling occurred between Hellenic and Hebrew religious conceptions. And it need scarcely be emphasised that in the scattered groups of the Diaspora Christianity found points of easy conquest and propagation which would attract its travelling missionaries.\*

*Philo* (or Philo Judæus). About 20 B.C. was born, in an aristocratic Hebrew family of Alexandria, the famous Philo. He was a witness of the dreadful outbreak of mob-violence against the Jewish colony (see page 155), and he has him-

\* Kœnen's "Religion of Israel," chap. xi.; Schürer's "Jewish People," div. ii., vol. ii.

self given in account of his journey to Rome (40 c.) in company with other elders, to implore the protection of the emperor Caligula. The emperor met the Hebrew suppliants in his spacious garden where he was inspecting certain new summer houses and alternated his remarks to architects and builders with vulgar scoffs at the grey haired Philo and his companions. Not willingly did the philosopher venture into the turmoil of public affairs. All his life he had been a student finding opportunities for the acquirement of much Gentile learning in the lecture halls and magnificent Library of Alexandria. But all the instruments and facilities which Greek philosophy placed in his hands were used only to impart greater breadth and profounder meaning to the Hebrew faith. Philo gave a Greek expression to Judaism. And in doing this he accounted himself as moved by the divine spirit. Sometimes he tells us a mystic affluus would come upon his soul— ideas being invisibly shored upon me and planted from above so that by a divine possession I was filled with enthusiasm and was absolutely ignorant of the place of those present of myself of what was said of what was written, for I had a stream of interpretation an enjoyment of light a most keen sighted vision. The geometry astronomy rhetoric music which he had learnt in the schools were all subordinated to the supreme study of theology the making known of God. Into all life and all facts he read mystic significations, above all into the Bible. The simple old legends of the Creation the Fall the Exodus etc. were turned into types shadows metaphorical allegories of divine truths. Philo called it absurd to suppose the world was really made in six days, the six days were symbolical of order and perfect regularity. Paradise was not an actual garden, it was the human soul implanted by God with the choice trees of virtue. The history of Joseph was a political treatise his coat-of-many-colours represented the varied conditions of society, Potiphar's wife the loose undisciplined will of the populace the interpreter of Pharaoh's dreams stood for the statesman whose business it was to give form and harmony to the disordered dreams of men. For indeed (so Philo goes on in a characteristic digression) all the life of man is a dream, youth vanishes into age beauty into deformity riches into poverty, empires change into tributary states and human affairs

flit by like the figures in a procession, or the ripples and cascades of a stream. And Philo found peace in the thought that the divine was subject to no vicissitude; heaven was everlasting day, and the things of heaven were superior to the things of earth.\*

Most of Philo's works were written before 38 C.E. He was therefore in the prime of intellectual strength at the period when the startling events of the Gospel history are said to have occurred; and yet of these Philo breathes not a single word in his many writings. These works are in the nature of essays on various passages and incidents in the Pentateuch, which he regarded as a divine revelation through Moses, and outside of which he made few Old Testament quotations; and a number of ethical pieces on Justice, Courage, Humanity, Repentance, Rewards and Punishments, etc. He always studied the Scriptures through the Greek (Septuagint) translation. We have previously observed (p. 129, *note*) that the description of the Therapeut monks, supposed to be given by Philo under the title of "The Contemplative Life," is a forgery. Six points in Philo's system may be referred to:—

1. The doctrine of God. God is eternal, self-existent, infinite, perfect, good; yet, in the last resort, undefinable; we can say that he is, not *what* he is. Moses could only see the back parts of God—that is, could only see him by the effects and works which follow after him. No name can fitly be applied to the divine being, unless perhaps that holy tetragrammaton (JHVH, or YHVH), in which Philo reads allusions to geometry and music and cosmic symmetry.

2. The divine Powers, by which God indirectly holds intercourse with the world. These forces or active causes are variously described, sometimes as angels, or dæmons, or (as the Stoics had it) "logoi," or (as Plato liked to say) "ideas." These are the formative powers which introduce order into chaos, the constructive energies which build up man and nature, the celestial lamps which lighten the universe. The powers are innumerable, but chief among them are the Logos, the Creative, the Regal, the Compassionate, the Legislative. They are the means by which

\* Essay "On Joseph."

creatures and the very heavens sing the praises of God. All things are mutually dependent. Matter is not in itself evil but so soon as it took shape in the phenomena of the universe it exhibited signs of imperfection and corruption.

5 Man. God first made an ideal man, a spiritual type whence was copied the concrete and incarnate man in Eden. Man is composed of soul and body. Nothing earthborn is more like God than man, but this likeness is displayed not in the mortal body but in the immortal soul. The soul is tripartite: there is the lower mortal, or irrational soul, an airy substance which permeates the blood and acts through the five senses, through speech and through the reproductive faculty; and there is a higher immaterial ever-living rational soul breathed into man by the breath of God, a fragment of divinity. Yet neither by the senses nor by the higher reason can truth be attained without the aid of the God-given scriptures.

6 Ethics. The body is mortal, transient, sinful, an obstacle to the progress of the soul, the seat of passions and lusts which war against the divine life. The pious man seeks to escape from the influence of the flesh; he delights in the word of God which furnishes food for the soul. Man's will is free to choose between good and evil. Conscience is the veracious witness and inward critic of man's conduct. Work is man's highest duty; for God has made labour the foundation of all good and of all virtue to men, and without labour you will not find a single good thing in existence among the race of men. Toil is cheered by hope and hope expects gracious answers to prayer. Virtue is a mean between temerity and cowardice, between extravagance and meanness, between superstition and impiety, between asceticism and indulgence. Truth-telling is highly esteemed by Philo. The good man's bare word is accounted an oath, and next to not swearing at all the second best thing is to keep one's oath, for by the mere fact of swearing at all the swearer shows that there is some suspicion of his not being trustworthy. Philo enumerates the cardinal virtues as prudence, fortitude, temperance, justice, sometimes adding holiness, and the cardinal sins as folly, intemperance, injustice, cowardice. Polytheism and idolatry he sternly condemns. At the last, good will triumph over evil. Passion will be subdued and

peace will reign, and Israel will return to his native land. But the noblest Jerusalem is the invisible City of God erected in the soul, "since where could any find a more venerable and holy abode for God\*amid all existing things than the mind fond of contemplation, which is eager to behold everything and which does not, even in a dream, feel a wish for sedition or disturbance? Know, then, that God alone is the truest, and most real, and genuine peace, and that every created and perishable essence is continual war' \*

*Gnosticism*—In Asia Minor, and in the first century of the Christian era, there came into prominence a number of sects whose religion had been derived from the "Mystæ." The Mystæ drew their ideas from India Persia, Chaldæa, Judaism and Egypt. As Christianity emerged it became linked, in the most puzzling and complex manner, with the creed of the Mystæ, and the result was the Gnosticism which spread over the Roman empire survived its fall, lived on into mediæval Europe, and even yet lingers, it is said, among the Druses of the Lebanon

It will be convenient to give a very brief statement of the Gnostic doctrine as developed in the second century, in order that the reader may see whither the earlier system was tending. The word *gnosis* (Greek for knowledge), which occurs in the Septuagint and the Book of Wisdom, was adopted as signifying a saving knowledge of the divine nature, as opposed to a less certain "faith." To this *gnosis* there are allusions in the New Testament, and one of these—"the opposition of *gnosis*, falsely so-called" (1 Tim vi 20)—is particularly contemptuous. Not till the beginning of the second century did the members of the sect of the Ophites assume the name of Gnostics. Mankind were divided into three classes—the Spiritual, the Psychic, and the Carnal, or lowest class. Matter was deemed to be intrinsically evil. The Supreme Being was unknowable an unfathomable Abyss. From the Supreme sprang a group of Powers, or *Aons*, or Eternal Ones, who mediated between God and matter (we are readily reminded here of *Philo*), and together constituted the *Pleroma*, or Fulness. The number of the

\* Schürer div ii, v. l. iii J. Drummonds "Philo<sup>s</sup> Jews," Philo's Works, Bohn's edition in 4 vols.

Æons was variously reported, some giving 12, some 365, etc. An astronomical meaning is evident in the figures just named. The leading æons were Nous, Logos, Sophia, Dunamis, Aletheia, Zoe, etc. One of these divine essences—Sophia—fell from the sphere of light into the dark world of matter. From the union of Sophia and matter was produced a new being, the Demiurge, who, though limited in power and knowledge, created from chaos the universe and man. This lower god was the deity who revealed religion to the Jews, and was, in fact, the god of the Old Testament. Christ, the great Æon, came to inaugurate a new order, and to subdue the Demiurge, whose work was accomplished. It is, however, important to observe that the Gnostics were subdivided into sects, and hence many divergences of belief are to be looked for.

Gnosticism selected elements of thought and practice from (1) Judaism proper. The Jews, as we have seen, had penetrated to far off countries, and their earnestness and steadfastness, and their peculiar traditions, did not fail to impress their Gentile neighbours. From the Jews Gnosticism took the holy name of God, IAO, the names of angels and of the patriarchs, etc. (2) The Kabbala. Though the Kabbala was not explained in written books till some time after the rise of Christianity, it is probable that it had its origin before the Christian era. It is a much-involved theosophy, or divine wisdom, in which the doctrine of God is intermingled with disquisitions on the mystic qualities of numbers. According to the Kabbalists, the First and Infinite is the unknowable Lord of Light, and from him the universe emanated. Thence is born a secondary god, a Type, a Macrocosm, who contains within himself the seed or plan of the cosmos, and he is called Adam-Kadmon. Out of Adam Kadmon rise ten emanations, or powers, known as the Sephiroth. These are: the Crown, Wisdom, Prudence, Magnificence, Severity, Beauty, Victory, Glory, Foundation, Empire; they received various Hebrew and Gnostic titles (Jehovah, El, Logos, Sophia, etc.), and were symbolised by special colours and emblems; and their intimate connection was suggested in a diagram of inter-lacing circles. As the world at large is thus the product of complex forces, so also man himself is made up of many spiritual ingredients, all of which the Kabbalists named



and described. Since the first man sinned, and in his soul were hidden all the souls of the coming race, these souls were therefore tainted with sin and doomed to imprisonment in a succession of material bodies until purified—a doctrine hinted at in the Christian gospel which tells of a question of Christ's disciples "Master, who did sin, this man, or his parents, that he was *born blind*?" (John ix 2) Of Angels who make a large figure in Gnosticism much had been learned from such works as the Book of Enoch and from the Talmud. The host of angels was governed by seventy princes and subordinate captains—Jehuel was prince of fire, Michael prince of water, Metatron was leader of the angels of the sun, and was simply another form of Mithra. (3) Zoroastrianism. In the sacred Zend avesta the Supreme Being is Unbounded Time. This Supreme and Ineffable One gives off many emanations, first Ormuzd, creator of the world of mankind and of the Six Great Spirits round his throne, next, twenty eight Izeds or genii, of whom Mithra is chief, thirdly, of a countless array of spiritual Ferouers, or divine Ideas. Amon, the offspring of the Unknown was Ahriman, who conceived hatred against Ormuzd, was cast out from his high estate, and wages war against Ormuzd—darkness against light—until the end of the world, the resurrection and the final regeneration of all things. (4) India. In early Christian times the tale ran\* that an Arab an merchant often travelled to the markets of India, where he made acquaintance with the native doctrines which afterwards he combined with the philosophy of Pythagoras, and he even carried his new gospel to Jerusalem "in the very times of the Apostles." His sole disciple settled in Persia, and gave himself out to be Buddas, or the Wise One. From his writings the celebrated Manes or Manichæus drew ideas and speculations (related to Gnosticism) in the third century C.E. The story evidently suggests the transmission of Buddhistic teachings to the West. As specially bearing on the Gnostic system we may point out how Buddhism had its Unknown Originator of things in Nirriti, who desiring to make a universe, produced five divine Buddhas. These created the elements and the five Buddha-*avatas*, and

\* It is told by Epiphanius in his 'Life of Manes.'

these latter became the fashioners of the world. But all material existence is an illusion, and he who would escape the captivity of matter and return to the infinite repose must do so through the attainment of the True Knowledge—or, as the Gnostics would say, the true Gnosis. There is reason to believe that the Ineffable Name *Itself* was first formed in India, where the Brahmans accounted the three-lettered word *AUM* as the holiest of all human sounds. (5) *Mithraism*. Like the followers of *Mithra*, the Gnostics practised baptism for the blotting out of sins, and attached a mystic value to a sacred mark and name which were communicated to the initiated. (6) *Egypt*. As one centre of Gnosticism was Antioch, so another was Alexandria. Egyptian gods and goddesses were frequently drawn by Gnostic artists upon the famous gems which have so strangely preserved many of the peculiar features of Gnosticism. But Egypt was more useful to Gnosticism in supplying it with the machinery of emblems, formulæ, etc., than with religious doctrine.

The gems were engraved stones composed of jade, jasper, chalcedony, etc., and were worn about the person as talismans. Indeed, long before Christianity arose these charms were employed by the common people as possessing supposed medicinal virtues—a superstition which flourished greatly in Chaldæa and Egypt. Even Christian physicians fell into the habit of prescribing the use of these talismans. The Gnostics simply adopted the popular usage, and sought to attach to the gems a higher religious meaning. One of the earliest designs observable in these magic gems was that of the *Agathodæmon*, or Good Genus—a lion-headed serpent with a seven or twelve-rayed crown; the serpent, in the form of the asp in Egypt and the cobra in India, having been for ages venerated as a sacred creature. This emblem was often accompanied by the inscription "*Chnoumis*" or "*Chnuphis*," the old Egyptian god Ammon Chnubis being figured under the guise of a serpent. Another pattern engraved on the *Chnuphis* gems is the rod with serpents twined around, a design which suggests the wand of the Egyptian priests, the staff of *Æsculapius*, and the healing rod of Moses. To the serpent talisman was attributed a peculiar virtue in protecting the wearer from diseases of the chest. Later on the Gnostics made the serpent a symbol

of the universal life and the source of salvation. The jackal-headed Anubis (of Egyptian origin again) is frequently represented bearing the caduceus of Hermes to indicate his office of leading souls from this mortal world to the bliss of the Pleroma and quite easily he came to be interpreted afterwards as the Saviour Christ. The jackal's head in these designs somewhat resembling that of an ass, it was a popular scoff against the Gnostics that they worshipped an Ass's Head, but it is singular that the same accusation was brought against Jews and early Christians. Other designs on the gems show us Harpokrates or Horus as a boy seated on a lotus and intended to suggest by his phallic features the idea of fecundity, fruition and perfection, the Woman and Lion, typifying the union of the soul with the great solar and spiritual regenerative force, Priapus a four-winged and four-handed aged man who stands for the Creative Energy, the winged goddess Athor signifying a feminine Æon, a Mithraic Soldier whose spear is tipped with a cock's head, the four-eyed Saut (derived from Phœnicia) regarded as an image of divine omniscience etc.\*

One of the most obscure points in the origin of Gnosticism is the legend of Simon Magus. Besides the reference to him in the New Testament some account is given by Justin Martyr and Irenæus (second century C.E.) and by Hippolytus (third century C.E.) He was a Samaritan his birthplace being Gittha. A Tyrian woman named Helena (she was a harlot according to the Christian story) accompanied him on his preaching tours. In the reign of Claudius he visited Rome. Crowds collected in his train listened spell-bound to his oratory and placed implicit faith in his skill as a magician. Justin tells an absurd tale of a statue having been erected to Simon on an island in the Tiber the inscription running in Latin *Simoni Deo Sancto* (To the holy god Simon). But in 1574 a fragment of this supposed monument to the magician was dug up and found to bear the words *Simoni Sancto Deo Fido Sacrum* etc. and it is known that *Semo Sancus* was a Sabine god. It is difficult to say whether other incidents related by Christian

writers contain a larger proportion of truth than this fable of Justin's. They said he worked miracles by the agency of dæmons that he declared his ability to rise again the third day after death and was buried in a trench but never re-appeared but another report stated that when Paul and Peter were at Rome Simon caused two dæmons to raise him upwards in a chariot of fire but the apostles prayed against him and Simon fell to the earth breaking both legs and overcome with shame he afterwards flung himself from a house top and was killed. But apart from these myths it is probable that he was something more than a vulgar sorcerer and that he taught mystical doctrines and claimed supernatural gifts. He is alleged to have taught (but no certainty on the subject is attainable) that he himself was a divine incarnation the Creative Power and Father. His companion Helena was the human embodiment of a divine Intelligence the offspring of the Creator. Once indeed this Intelligence had taken its abode in the form of Helen of Troy but in the course of migrations her soul had found a squalid home in the body of the harlot of Tyre. Simon who had descended from heaven as a Redeemer found her and saved her thenceforward devoting himself to the spread of the true Gnosis—the knowledge of himself as the Logos by which mankind might be delivered from all evil. If we can trust Hippolytus Simon the Mage attached a deep value to the books of Moses and read hidden meanings into them after the manner of Philo. Hippolytus quotes from a written revelation of the Samaritan prophet a passage commencing 'Unto you, therefore, I say what I say and write what I write. The writing is this. There are two stocks of all the Æons put together having neither beginning nor end springing out of one root the which is Silence invisible inconceivable of which stocks the one shows itself from above the which is a great Power Mind of the All pervading all things and of the male sex the other showing itself from below is the great Intelligence and is of the female sex generating all things etc.' The haze of legend and mysticism in which the real Simon is almost obscured from view is not cleared away by the episode relating to him in the Acts of the Apostles (viii). There was a certain man Simon by name, which beforetime in the city used sorcery and

amazed the people of Samaria giving out that himself was some great one to whom they all gave heed from the least to the greatest, saying *This man is that Power of God* [Compare this with the passage just cited from Hippolytus] which is called Great. And they gave heed to him because that of long time he had amazed them with his sorceries. But when they believed Philip preaching good tidings concerning the Kingdom of God, and the name of Jesus Christ they were baptised both men and women. And Simon also himself believed and being baptised he continued with Philip and beholding signs and great miracles wrought, he was amazed. Now when Simon saw that through the laying on of the apostles [Peter and John] hands the Holy Ghost was given he offered them money, saying Give me also this power, that on whomsoever I lay my hands he may receive the Holy Ghost. But Peter said unto him *Thy silver perish with thee, because thou hast thought to obtain the gift of God with money. Thou hast neither part nor lot in this matter for thy heart is not right before God. Repent, therefore of this thy wickedness and pray the Lord if perhaps the thought of thy heart shall be forgiven thee. For I see that thou art in the gall of bitterness and in the bond of iniquity.* And Simon answered and said *Pray ye for me to the Lord, that none of the things which ye have spoken come upon me.* Even if Simon did actually repent his theosophy was not allowed to die out for it was actively propagated by his disciple Menander. We may now glance at the chief Gnostic sects.

The Ophites included three sects the Naasens the Peratæ, and the Sethians. Naasens was a term modified from the Hebrew word Nachash or serpent and of this title Ophites or serpent men is a translation. The serpent was a central feature in their theology. He was the child of Ialdebaoth the demiurge who in turn emanated from Bythos the Unknowable Abyss. Among the primitive Naasens the serpent was worshipped as the Agathodæmon and it was an easy transition from the good serpent genius to the redeeming Christ. The rites were no doubt copied from the practices of the communants in the Mysteries, especially of Bacchus whose worship was wide spread through Asia Minor. The Peratæ followed a certain

Euphrates; their creed was in large measure astrological, and was probably derived from Chaldæa, the home of magic. According to the Sethiani, the evil works of the Demiurge were counteracted by Seth, the son of Adam, and the godly race that sprang from him, the revolt being inspired by the divine Sophia or Wisdom. It was Sophia's desire to destroy the wicked men of old time by the Flood; but the Demiurge introduced the base-minded Ham into the Ark, and so the conflict of good and evil continued to rage until Seth returned to earth in the person of a Redeeming Christ.\*

What light upon this redeeming Christ can be thrown by a rational interpretation of the gospels and other literature of the opening period of the Christian era we shall, in our next volume, attempt to discover.

END OF VOL. II

\* C. W. King's "Gnostics and their Remains;" H. L. Mansel's "Gnostic Heresies of the First and Second Centuries;" articles in "Encyclopædia Britannica," M. Clintoek and Strong's "Cyclopædia," and Herzog's "Cyclopædia."

## NOTES

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Page 36—*Acc. For Circumcision read Concision*

Page 45—*Oldest specimens of Hebrew* The oldest known is the Moabite inscription. The S. oam record should be described as the oldest example found in Palestine. In the Semitic room of the British Museum are preserved the rock inscriptions of S. oam and a cast of the Moabite stone.

Page 57—*The name of the deity P* The statement here is correct as rendered on p. 83, the name El Shaddai is used besides Elolai. And again P does not place the revelation of the name Yahweh at the Burning Bush but later on. See Ex. v. 2.

Page 80.—*Bottom line For on read and*

Page 84.—*The Pretty Cod* All of the passages which belong to this important document is given here for the use of readers who should mark them in the Bibles. It is reproduced from Professor Diers' Introduction, quoted on p. 50—

Genesis 41 v. 1-28 30-32 v. 9-2 6-7-9 (n. par. s.)  
 11 13 16 18 21 24 12 3b 5 13 14 19 x. 1 17 28 29  
 x. 1 7 20-22 23 31 32 x. 10 27 31 32 x. 4b 5 x. 1. 6  
 11 12a x. 1a 3 15 16 xvii. (a. l.) xix 29 xx 1b 2b 5  
 xx (all) xxv 7 11a 12 17 19 20 26b xxv 34 35 xx 46  
 10 xxv 9 xx x. 24 29 xx 18b xxx 8a xxxv 2a 4  
 6 8 10 13 18 20 24 25 (pa.) 27 29 xxx 9 13 15 22b 29  
 xv v. (all) xxxv 1 2a 4 46 xl 6 27 xl 5 6a (n. the  
 Set.) 7 11 27b 28 xlv 3 6 7 (?) xl v. 1a 28b-33 1 12 13

Exodus 1 7 13 14 23b 25 v. 2 7 13 19 20a 21b 22  
 v. 5 7 15b 19 x. 8 12 x. 1 20 28 37a 40 51 x. 1 2 20  
 x. 1 4 8 9 15 18 21a 21c 22 26 27a 28a 29 xv 1 3 6 24  
 31 36 xvi. 1a x. v. 1 2 xx 15 18a xxv 1 10 xxx 18a  
 xxxv 29 35 chap. xxxv xl

Leviticus to x. and xxv

Numbers 1 to x. 28 x. 1 17a 21 25 6a (n. Paran) 32a  
 xv 1 2 (n. the main) 5 7 10, 26 38 (n. the main) x. (all) x.  
 1a 21, 11 16 24 27a, 32b 35 40 41 50 xvii to xx 1a 2, 3b, 6  
 12 13 22 29 xxi. 4a (n. 110) 10 11 xx 1 xx 6-18 xx 1.  
 10 xxx x. v. 18 19 28 30 (n. the main) xxx to xxxv





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- Belshazzar, 108  
 Beni Israel, 30  
 Ben Sirach, 103  
 Berosus, 57  
 Bet el, 21  
 Blood, and blood covenant, 17, 16,  
     85  
 Breastplate, 35, 51  
 Buddhism and early Christianity,  
     163, and Gnosticism, 190  
 Bull, sacred, 49  
 Byblös, 12  
 Bythos, 194  
 Cain and Abel, 26, 27, 29  
 Canites, 26  
 Caligula, 154, 184  
 Calves, golden, 42, 49  
 Canaan, geography, 9, settlement  
     in, 36  
 Canaanites, 11  
 Candlemas, 172  
 Canon of O T, 114  
 Capital punishment, 126, 145  
 Carchemish, 12  
 Caesarea, 147, Philippi, 149  
 C E, 117  
 Chaldaea, religion, 21, Zodiac,  
     27, creation myth, 57, deluge  
     myth, 61, *see also* Assyria,  
     Babylon  
 Chassidim, 99, 122  
 Chemosh, 24, 45  
 Cherubim, 36, 49, 60  
 Chnoumis Chnuphis, 191  
 Chokhmah, 97  
 Christ, an Aton, 189, Gnostic,  
     195, *see also* Jesus  
 Christianity, early, 161  
 Christmas, 169  
 Christos (name) 136, 198  
 Chronicles, 102, 115  
 Churching of women, 91  
 Cicero, 177  
 Cippus, 17  
 Circumcision, 36, 90, 99  
 Claudius, 155  
 Clean and unclean 18, 21, 90  
     *see also* Taboo  
 Clergy, *see* Priests  
 Cohort, 151  
 Coinage, Jewish, 118, 151  
 Colleges, 120  
 Coponius, 151  
 Covenant, blood, 17, 19  
     " c Book of, 56, Deuteron  
     omy, 67, in 444 B C, 94  
 Cow, sacred, 19  
 Creation myths, 25, 57  
 Crucifixion of rebels, 156, 157  
 Cuneiform writing, 15  
 Cyrenians, 162  
 Cyrenus, 152  
 Cyrus, 77  
 Dagger Men, 157  
 Dagon 20  
 Daniel, 107, *Additions to*, 107,  
     131  
 Darius 108  
 David, 40, 42  
 Deborah 37, 40  
 Decalogue, 33, 56, 68  
 Degrees psalms 110  
 Deluge myth, 60 Gnostic, 195  
 Demurge, 174, 189, 194  
 Demoniacal possession 128  
 Derketo (Atargatis), 13, 162  
 Deutero Isaiah, 80  
 Deuteronomy, 54, 66, 89, 198  
 Devil, *see* Satan, Serpent  
 Diaspora, 182  
 Dionysus, 176  
 Dispersion, 182  
 Divination, *see* Ephod, Teraphim,  
     Urim, Witchcraft  
 Dog sacred, 19  
 Dolmen 17  
 Dove, sacred, 19  
 Dreams 50  
 Druses, 188  
 Ecclesiastes 104, 115  
 Ecclesiasticus, 103  
 Eden 59  
 Edomites 118  
 Education, 120  
 Egypt, people 13, Joseph let-  
     30 Christianity, 170, and  
     Gnosticism, 191  
 Elam, 77  
 Eleazar, 100  
 Eleusis, mysteries, 181  
 Elijah, 43

- Elohim 54 91 197  
 Elol st 54  
 El Shad lai 83  
 Eman. t on *see* Ph lo Gnost cism  
 Emperor worshi 147 151 154  
 153  
 End of world 180  
 Enoch 27  
*Enoch* 133 157  
 Ephod 50  
 Ep cureans 177  
 Esau 29  
*Esirasi* 106  
 Essenes 127 159 166  
*Ether* 105 115  
*Esther Additiois* 130  
 Ethucs, Hebrew 48 96 124 13  
 144 Buddh st 165 Ph los  
 187  
 Eunuchs 13  
 Exile first 73 second 93 10  
 Alexandria etc. 98  
 Exodus 33  
*Exod i* *see* El h st Priestly Code  
 Yah ist also 197  
*Exodus* last six chapters 109  
 Ezek el 75 his temple 41  
*Eziel* 75  
 Extra, 9  
*Era* 107  
  
 Eranuel 158  
 Fasting 53 12  
 Feasts 54 87  
 Felix 157  
 Firebo n 68  
 First fruit 18 67  
 Fish sacred 19  
 Flood *see* Deluge  
 Forms Platon c 175  
 Futu e life 138 *see also* Hea en  
 Hell Immp tal y Sheol So \*  
  
 Gabriel 108 157  
 Gebal 12  
 Gems Gnost c 191  
*Genesis* 54 198  
*Genesis* La the 160  
 Genus n 115  
 Cerium temple 94 162  
 C leon 38  
 C'gal 17  
  
 Glgam h 27 61  
 Gnosis 188  
 Gnost cism 188  
 God *see* Adonai Baal I l h m  
 El Shadda Yahveh  
 Gog and Magog 143  
 Grah 92  
 Golden Age 65 79 a / *see* Mes  
 s ia  
 Golden Rule 77  
 Grec an per od 98  
 Greece religion language nflu  
 ence 99 163 174 176 18 184  
 Grove 75  
  
*Habakkuk* 71  
 Hades, *see* Sheol  
 Haggadah 13  
*Haggai* 83  
 Hagiographa 113 115  
 Halachah 125  
 Hallel 110  
 Hanah 1  
 Harpocrates (Horus) 172 19  
 Harvest fest al 87  
 Hassadra 61  
 Hasmonaean 118  
 Hea en 140 158 180  
 Hebrew language 11 in cr p  
 ions 45 197 m nuser p s,  
 117 *see also* Aranaic  
 Hebre (na ne) 30  
 Hebrew race 11  
 Helena 192  
 Hell 140 158 180 *see also* enl  
 Hel en sin *see* Greece  
 Heracle us 176  
 Herod Agr ppa 158  
 Her al Ant pas 148  
 Herod the Grex 119, 146 159  
 Herodias 149  
 Hexateuch 54  
 Hexylla, 113  
 \*Hezekiah 43  
 High f e 87 83 99 126  
 Hillel 124  
 Hillel 167  
 Hittes 12  
 Hol ne y, Law of 57 76  
 Holy places 16 wells 16 1 end  
 18 blood o f 1 20 oil  
 18 animals, 18 *see also* Clean

Holy of Holies, 13, 21, 41

Horeb, 32

Horns of Altar, 20

Horse, sacred, 19

Horus, 191

*Hosea*, 63

Hyrkanus, John, 118

" H., 119, 146

6

Iao, 189

Ialdabaoth, 194

Ideas, Platonic, 175

Immortality, 96, 123, 128; *see*  
also Future life

Incense, 21

India, 167

Isaac, 29

Isis, 172, 173

Isaiah, 64

*Isaiah*, 64

*Isaiah II.*, 78

*Isaiah, xxi., xiv.*, 78

*Isaiah, xxv.-xxvii.*, 96

Israel (name), 30

Isdubar, *see* Gilgamesh

Jachin and Boaz, 17, 41

Jacob, 29

Jacobel, 30

Jehoshaphat, 43

Jehovah, *see* Yahveh

Jehu, 43

Jehuel, 190

Jephthah, 38

Jeremiah, 70

*Jeremiah*, 70

*Jeremiah, l., li.*, 77

*Jeremy, Epistle*, 146

Jeroboam, 42

Jerubbaal, 38

Jesus Christ, census at birth, 152;

alleged testimony by Josephus,

153; and Buddhism, 164, and

Mithra, 168; and Krishna, 168

Jesus, son of Sirach, 103

Joazar, High Pr., 151

John Baptist, alleged testimony of

Josephus, 149

John Hyrkanus, 118

*Jonah*, 98

Jonathan, High Pr., 157

Jonathan Maccabeus, 117

*Jot*, 80

*Jot*, 98

Joseph, legend, Egyptian original

or parallel, 30

Joseph & bow, 29

Joseph, High Pr., 99

Josephel, 30

Josephus, supposed testimonies to

John, 149; and Jesus, 153

Joshua, 37

*Joshua*, 56, 85, 198

Joshua, High Pr., 83

*Jubilees, Book of*, 160

Judas the Gaulanite, 148, 151

Judges, 36

*Judges*, 69, 73

*Jude*, 133, 159

Judgment-day, 134, 140, 144, 155;

*see also* End of the World

*Judith*, 130

Justin Martyr's allusion to Simon

Magus, 192

Kabbala, 189

Kallahs, 120

Kannaim, 152

Karkar, 44

Kedeshim, 43, 51

Kenites, 12, 32, 43

Kethubim, 115

Khata, Khita, *see* Hittites

Kings, chronology, 46

*Kings*, 74

*Kokelek*, 104

Korah psalms, 110

Krishna, 168

Kurios, 114

*Lamentations*, 72

Law, *see* Torah

Leprosy, 91

Leviathan, 144, 189

Levitate, 48

*Leviticus*, 76, 85, 198

Levites, 35, 52, 76, 88

Libertines, 163

Lights, feast of, 101

Lilith, 53

*Little Genesis*, 160

Logos, 175, 177, 185, 186

Lot, 29

LXX, 113

- Malog, 12  
 Maccabean psalms, 111  
*Maccabees I.*, 129  
*Maccabees II.*, 130  
 Maccabeus, Judas, 101  
     " Jonathan, 117  
     " Simon, 118  
 Malonna, 168, 172  
*Mala. ii.*, 94  
 Maleak, 49  
 Man, creation legend, 58, 59;  
     Phil's theory, 187; Kabbalist  
     theory, 189  
 Manasseh (priest), 94  
*Manasse's Prayer*, 132  
 Manes, Manichæus, 190  
 Manuscripts of O. T., 117  
 Mariamme, 146  
 Marriage, 48  
 Massora, 116  
 Mattathias, 101  
 Marroth, 35, 68  
 Medinah, 92  
 Megilloth, 105, 115  
 Melkarth, 16, 17, 19  
 Mementoes, Three, 122  
 Menander, 194  
 Menelaus, 100  
 Menstruation taboo, 91  
 Merodach, 58  
 Meshah, 45  
 Messiah and his age, 65, 80, 107,  
     134, 136, 141, 146, 155, 159  
 Mesd, 35  
 Messia, 122  
 Metatron, 190  
 Methuselah, 27  
*Mishk.*, 64  
 Michael, 108, 157, 190  
 Midrash, 102, 125  
 Milcom, 24  
 Mishna, 137  
 Mithra, 168, 169, 191  
 Mosaic stone, 45, 197  
 Moloch, 24  
 Monolatry, 33  
 Mordecai, 100  
 Moses, 31; blessing, 69; song,  
     69  
*Moses, Assumption of*, 159  
 Mother and child, Chaldean, 168;  
     Hindu, 168; Egyptian, 172  
 Mountain worship, 50  
 Myrr, 188  
 Mysteries, Egyptian, 172; Mith-  
     raic, 169; Greek, 181  
 N. vent, 194  
 Nax, 62  
 Naxos, 77  
*Nakus.*, 66  
 Name, ineffable, 23, 110, 191  
 Nari, 126  
 Nariites, 53  
 Neluini, 114  
 Nebuchadnezzar, 72, 73  
 Nehemiah, 92  
*Nekemah*, 102  
 Nero, 157  
 Nethinim, 51  
 New moon, 54  
 Noah, 27  
*Noah, Apocalyptic of*, 158  
 Oil, sacred, 18, 35  
 Old Testament canon, 114  
 Ophites, 194  
 Origen, 113, 153  
 Oms, 171, 173  
 Osenses, 129  
 Palestine, 9, 12  
 Parables, Buddhist, 166  
 Passover, 35, 54, 57  
 Patriarchs, 25  
 Pentateuch, 114; Samaritan, 162  
 Pezari, 194  
 Persia, 77, 95, 96, 105  
 Petronius, 155  
 Pharisees, 123, 126, 135, 145  
 Philo, 155, 153  
 Phallicism, 17, 25, 29, 43, 59, 60  
 Phasael, 119  
 Phillip (tetrarch), 148, 149  
 Philistines, 12  
 Phœnicians, 12  
 Phylacteries, 122  
 Pirke Aboth, 135  
 Place of worship, 85  
 Plato, 177  
 Pleroma, 166, 188  
 Pompey, 119, 135  
 Pontus Pate, 152  
 Powers, 185, 188, 189, 193, 194

- Holy of Holies, 13, 21, 41  
 Horeb, 32  
 Horns of Altar, 20  
 Horse, sacred, 19  
 Horus, 191  
*Hosea*, 63  
 Hyrkanus, John, 118  
     " II, 119 146  
 Iao, 189  
 Ialdabaoth, 194  
 Ideas, Platonic, 175  
 Immortality, 96 123 128, *see*  
     *also* Future life  
 Incense, 21  
 India, 167  
 Isaac, 29  
 Isis, 172, 173  
 Isaiah, 64  
*Isaiah* 64  
*Isaiah II*, 78  
*Isaiah, xiii, xiv*, 78  
*Isaiah, xxiv xxvii* 96  
 Israel (name) 30  
 Izdubar, *see* Gilgamesh  
  
 Jachin and Boaz, 17, 41  
 Jacob 29  
 Jacobel 30  
 Jehoshaphat, 43  
 Jehovah *see* Yahveh  
 Jehu 43  
 Jehuel, 190  
 Jephthah 38  
 Jeremiah 70  
*Jeremiah* 70  
*Jeremiah I, II* 77  
*Jeremy, Epistle* 146  
 Jeroboam 42  
 Jerubbaal 38  
 Jesus Christ census at birth 152  
     alleged testimony by Josephus  
     153 and Buddhism 164 and  
     Mithra 168 and Krishna 168  
 Jesus, son of Sirach 103  
 Joazar High Pr 151  
 John Baptist alleged testimony of  
     Josephus 149  
 John Hyrkanus 118  
*Jonah* 98  
 Jonathan High Pr 157  
     Jonathan Maccabeus 117  
  
*Job*, 80  
*Joel*, 98  
 Joseph, legen I, Egyptian or ginal  
     or Parallel, 30  
 Joseph's bow 29  
 Joseph, High Pr, 99  
 Josephel 30  
 Josephus, supposed testimonies to  
     John, 149, and Jesus 153  
 Joshua, 37  
*Joshua* 56 85 198  
 Joshua, High Pr, 83  
*Jubilees, Book of*, 160  
 Judas the Gaulanite, 148, 151  
 Judges 36  
*Judges*, 69 73  
 Jude, 133, 159  
 Judgment day, 134, 140, 141 158  
     *see also* End of the World  
 Judith 130  
 Justin Martyr's allusion to Simon  
     Magus 192  
  
 Kal bala, 189  
 Kallahs, 120  
 Kannaam 152  
 Karkar, 44  
 Kedesdim, 43, 51  
 Kenites, 12 32 43  
 Kethubim, 115  
 Khata Khita, *see* Hutites  
 Kings, chronology 46  
*Kings*, 74  
*Kohleth* 104  
 Korah psalms, 110  
 Krishna 168  
 Kurok 114  
  
*Lamentations* 72  
 Law *see* Torah  
 Leprosy 91  
 Leviathan 144 189  
 Lev rate 48  
*Leviticus* 76 85 198  
 Levites 35 52 76 88  
 Libertines 193  
 Lights feast of 101  
 Luth 53  
*Little Genesis* 160  
 Logos 175 177, 185 186  
 Lot 29  
 LXX 113

Mabog 12  
 Maccabean psalms 111  
*Maccabees I* 129  
*Maccabees II* 130  
 Maccabreus Judas 101  
     Jonathan 117  
     Simon 118  
 Madonna 168 172  
*Mafala h* 94  
 Maleak 49  
 Man c et on legend 58 59  
     Philo's theory 187 Kabbal's  
     theory 189  
*Manasseh (prie )* 94  
*Maaseh's Prayer* 132  
 Manes Manicheus 190  
 Manus p s of O T 117  
 Mariamne 146  
 Marriage 48  
 Massora 116  
*Maazhur* 101  
 Mazzoth 35 68  
 Med nah 92  
*Megiloth* 105 115  
 Melkarth 16 17 19  
 Memen oes Th ee 12  
 Menander 194  
 Menelaps, 100  
 Mens rea on taboo 91  
 Merodach 58  
 Mesha 45  
 Mesiah and his age 65 So, 107  
     134 136 141 146 158 159  
*Mes* 35  
 Mesu a 122  
 Metatron 190  
 Methuselah 27  
*Mah* 64  
 M hael 108 157 190  
 M drash 102 125  
 M leom 24  
 M hna 17  
 M hna 168 169 191  
 Morley's one 45 97  
 Moloch 24  
 Monolatry 35  
 Mordecai 106  
 Moses 31 bless n. 69 song  
     69  
*Moe's Assumption of* 159  
 Moheruntich d Chaldean 168  
 Hindu 168 Egypt an 172

Mourning worship 50  
 Myra 188  
 Myseries Egypt an 12 M h  
     ra c, 169 G eek 181  
*Nac* 194  
*Naz* 62  
*Nab* 77  
*Nah* 66  
 Name Ineff ble 23 110 191  
*Nas* 126  
*Naz* es 53  
*Neb* n 114  
 Nebuchadrezzar 72 73  
 Nehemiah 9  
*Nhe* ah 102  
*Neo* 157  
*Neh* n m 51  
 New moon 54  
*No* h 27  
*Noah Apocalypse of* 158  
  
*O* l sac ed 18 35  
 Old Testament canon 114  
*Oph* es 194  
*O* gen 13 153  
*O* ri 17 173  
*O* ene 129  
  
*I* ales ne 9 12  
 Iarable Buddhs 66  
 Iass er 54 87  
*Pa* a chs 25  
*I* ena euch 114 Sama an 16  
*I* eratre 194  
*I* e na, 77 95 96 108  
*P* e on us 155  
*P* ha ees 123 26 135 148  
*I* h lo 155 183  
*P* h il lism 17 25 29 43 59 60  
*I* h sael 119  
*P* h il p e ar h) 148 149  
*P* h il limes 12  
     heen c ans 1  
*P* h y actg es 122  
*P* r ke Abo h 138  
*P* lace of wo h p 85  
*P* la o 177  
*P* le oma 166 188  
*P* ompey 119 135  
*P* on us lwa e 152  
*P* owe s 185 188 189 193 194



- Prayer, early, 53  
 Prapus, 191  
 Presses' Code 54, 56, 84, 197, 198  
 Presses, tithes, etc., 18, 20, early,  
     651, development from Levites,  
     52, 67, 76 88 cities 52  
 Procurator, 151  
 Prophets, early 51, eighth cen-  
     tury, 62  
 Proselytes, 183  
 Prostitution sacred, 13 16, *see*  
     also *Kedeshim*  
*Proverbs* 64 70, 72, 97  
 Psalms, Chaldean, 24  
 Psalms of David 40, 110  
*Psalms* 109, Ps. L, 99 Ps.  
     lxxii, 142 Ps. xc, 110 Ps.  
     cx., 142, Ps. cxix., 99  
*Psalms of Solomon* (or Pharisees)  
     135 198  
 Ptolemy Lagi 98  
     " Philadelphia, 112 142  
 Punt, 14  
 Pyramids 14  
 Pythagorean doctrine 129  
 Purification of Mary 172  
 Purim 106  
  
 Quintus, census, 152  
  
 Rabi: 124  
 Rachel 29  
 Raphael, 107  
 Reason divine, 174  
 Refuse, cities, 13, 89  
 Restoration 102 of, 78  
 Resurrection 139 155, of Mi-hra  
     169 of Onria, 173  
 Rome, 118 100 101; ethics, 179  
 Rufo, 157  
*Ruth*, 98  
  
 Sabbath, 22 54 88, 94, 98, 121  
     145  
 Sacrament (eat n), 19 *Mosaic*  
     169, *Levitical*, 151  
 Sacrifice 17, 20, 21, 35, 53 86  
 Saddle, 151  
 Sadducees, 76, 122 123  
 Salome (queen) 119 176, 127  
 Samaria, fall of, 64, mixed race,  
     73, 83 94 162  
 Sampson, 129  
 Samson, 38  
 Samuel 39  
*Samuel*, 74  
 Sanctuary, 85, *see also* Holy  
     places, Tabernacle, Temple  
 Sarcophagus, 126  
 Sargon I., 15, birth legend, 31  
 Satan 81, 84, 96  
 Saul, 40 42  
 Scapegoat, 26 88  
 Scribes, 124  
 Sebaste 162  
 Seleucids 100  
 Semites, 11, 15  
 Seneca, 179  
 Sennacherib 44  
 Sephiroth 189  
 Septuagint, 112, 185  
 Serapis, 171, 172, 173  
 Serpent, 61, 171, 191  
 Servant (in "Isaiah II") 79  
 Seth 195, Sethian 195  
 Sethites, 20  
 Seven sacred, 23  
 Sexual taboo, 90  
 Shalmaneser's obelisk 44  
 Shamgar 39  
 Shammah 124, 125  
 Shema, 121  
 Sheol 23, 134  
 Shechtazzar, 83  
 Shewbread, 18  
 Shushak 45  
 Shulamite, 105  
 Sibyl 143  
 Sicari 157  
*Sisy the Oracles*, 133  
 Sion inscription 45, 197  
 Simon Magician, 142  
 Simon Magician, 192  
 Sinai and Yahveh 32  
 Sinners 161  
 Sinners, 61  
 Sinapism 61  
 Slavery 49 145  
 Socrates, 176  
 Solon, 51  
 Solar mythology, 29 *see also* 4 n  
 Solomon, 41, 42 97, 104 132  
*Solomon, Psalm of* 135  
*Solomon's Song*, 105, 115

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